

Japan's Last Shogun / Beer vs. Cancer

# Newsweek®

09.10.2015

## BAD BLOOD IN THE BALKANS

OLD ENEMIES IN EUROPE'S  
MOST VOLATILE REGION  
ARE CLASHING OVER THE  
REFUGEE CRISIS





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# Newsweek

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**BRIDGEGATE:** Accusations by a nationally ranked bridge player of widespread cheating are reverberating across the global coordinates of high-stakes contract bridge.

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**COVER CREDIT:** PHOTOGRAPH BY MARKO DJURICA/REUTERS

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CONTRIBUTING DIGITAL IMAGING SPECIALIST

**Katy Lyness**

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**Elijah Wolfson, R.M. Schneiderman, Matt Cooper, Cady Drell, Grant Burningham, Jackie Bischof, John Seeley**

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**Dave Martin**

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# BIG SHOTS

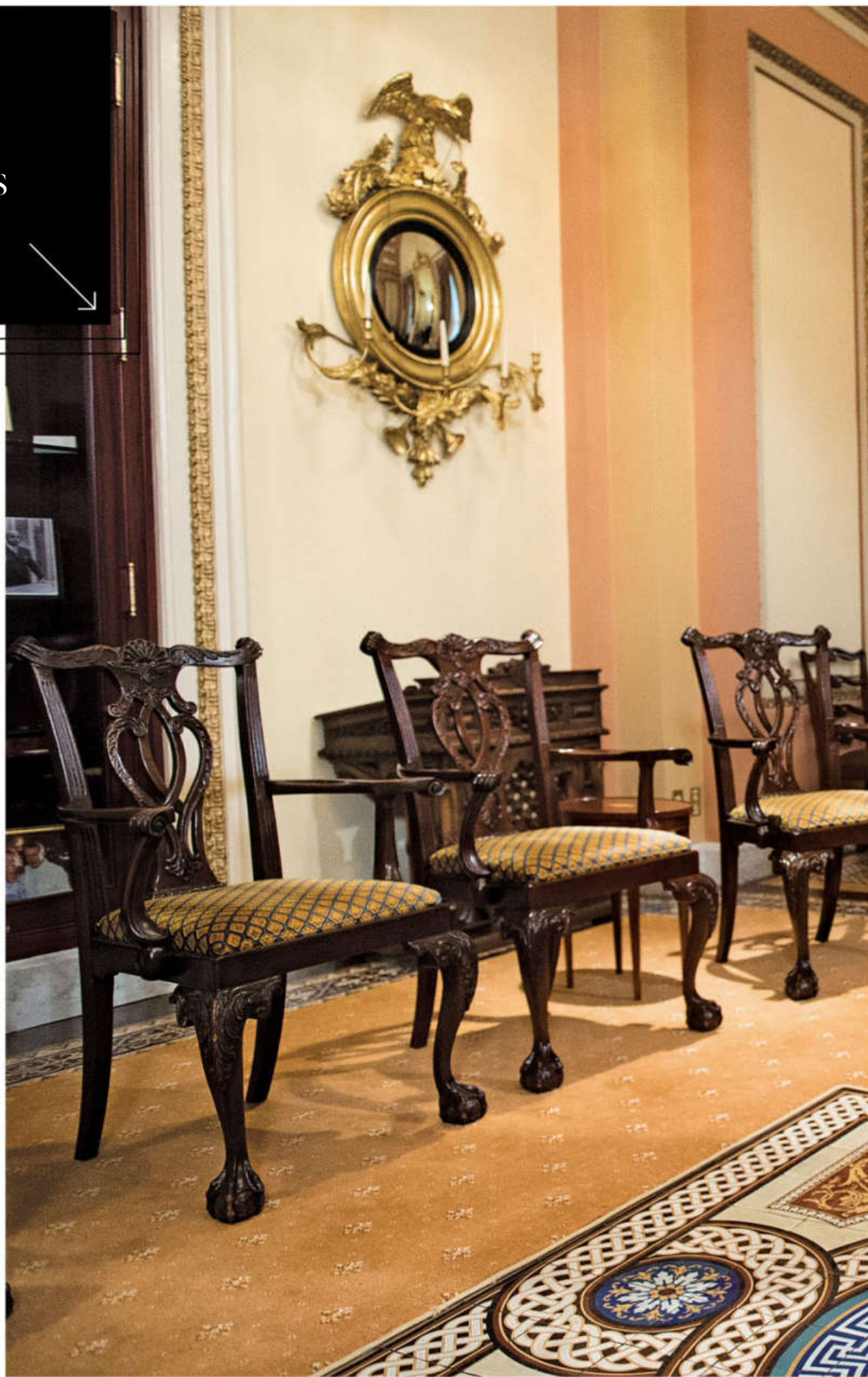
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## Exit Stage Right

Washington, D.C.—Republican Speaker of the House John Boehner prepares to greet Pope Francis in his office before the pope's address to Congress on September 24. Boehner, a devout Catholic, announced the following day he would stand down at the end of October. His decision comes after years of conflict with Tea Party members of his caucus, who wanted Boehner to take a more confrontational approach toward President Barack Obama over issues such as Obamacare. Facing another possible government shutdown over the funding of Planned Parenthood, Boehner decided to resign, calling his critics "not realistic" in their political aims.



BILL CLARK





## SAUDI ARABIA

## Haji Stampede

Mecca,

Saudi Arabia—

A pilgrim reads the Koran on a rocky hill called the Mountain of Mercy during the pilgrimage near this holy city on September 23. The next day, at least 769 people were killed in a stampede near Mecca. Iran and Saudi Arabia have traded sharp words over the incident, with the kingdom saying pilgrims didn't follow traffic directions and Iran blaming "incompetence and mismanagement" by the Saudis. It was the second disaster to strike this year's hajj: On September 11, a crane collapsed near the Grand Mosque, crushing 111 people to death.



MOSA'AB ELSHAMY





**BOSNIA AND  
HERZEGOVINA**

## Drivers Wanted

Jelah, Bosnia and Herzegovina—A man walks past Volkswagen TDI diesel engines in a warehouse on September 26. Martin Winterkorn, the CEO of Volkswagen Group, resigned September 23, after the German automaker was found cheating on emissions inspections with software that lowered its diesel models' pollution only during official testing. A joint study from the University of West Virginia and the International Council on Clean Transportation uncovered the offending software; the news sent VW shares plummeting as the world's largest automaker faces potential U.S. fines of up to \$18 billion for the 482,000 affected cars in the United States.



DADO RUVIC





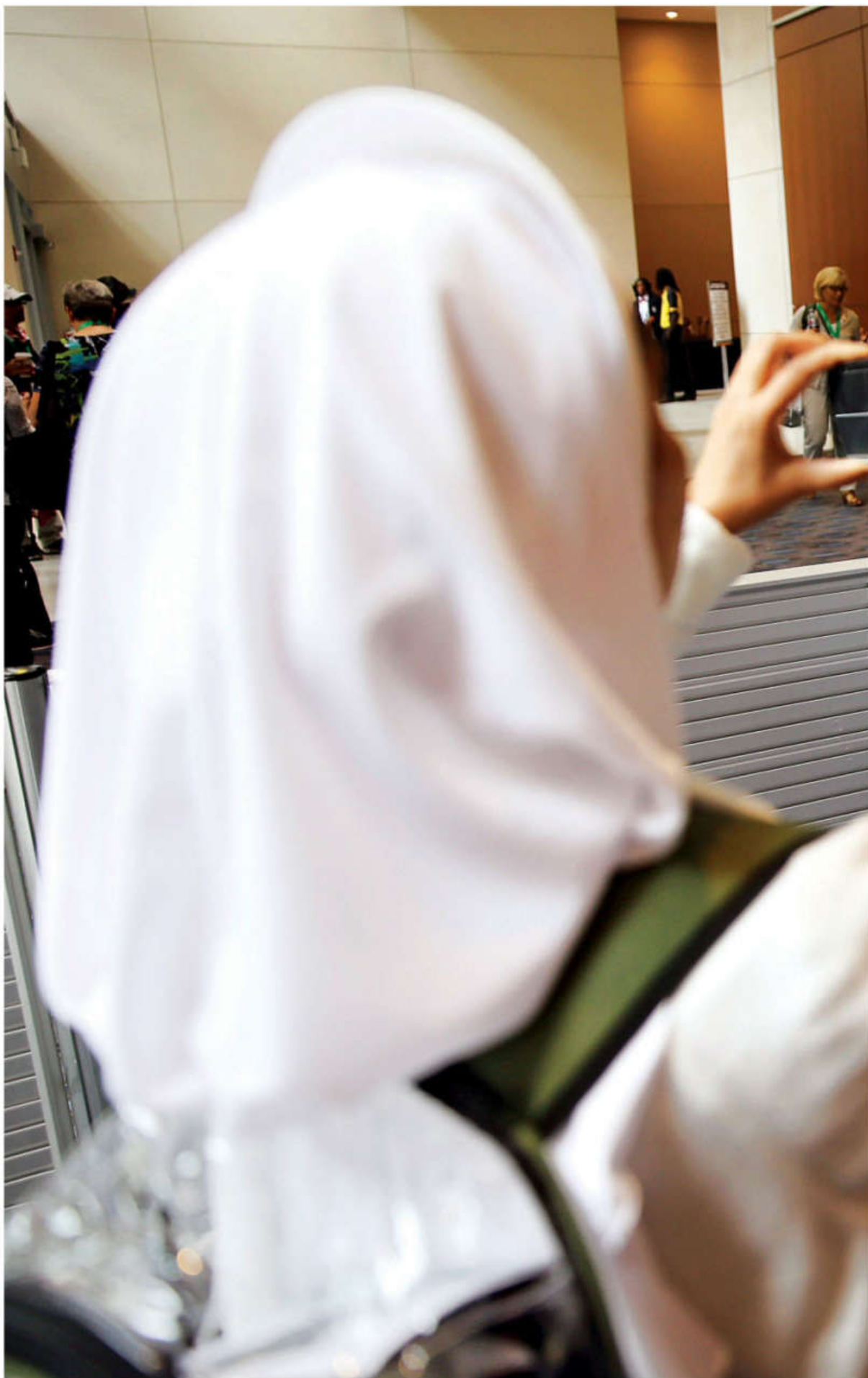
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## God Weeps

Philadelphia—Nuns with the Hospital Sisters of Mercy in Pleasantville, New Jersey, pose for a selfie with a cutout of Pope Francis, at the World Meeting of Families conference on September 22. On the last day of his nine-day trip, the pontiff made an unannounced stop at St. Charles Borromeo Seminary to meet with victims of clergy sex abuse in Philadelphia. The seminary's priest in charge of personnel was convicted of child endangerment in 2012 after a pair of investigations uncovered years of rape and molestation of children by priests. Pope Francis acknowledged the abuse and, in a meeting with 300 bishops later in the day, promised to launch a church tribunal to scrutinize church leaders in abuse cases involving children. The abuse cannot be maintained in secret, he said. "God weeps."



MATT ROURKE







# P A G E O N E

JAPAN

BALKANS

POPE

EDUCATION

NFL

REFUGEES

## BAD BLOOD IN THE BALKANS

# Old enemies in Europe's most volatile region are clashing over the refugee crisis

**THE NEWEST** crisis in the Balkans began with a fence rather than a bout of ethnic or nationalist bloodletting. In July, Hungary began building a barrier along its 110-mile border with Serbia, and it plans similar fences on its borders with Croatia and Romania to prevent an influx of refugees. "We are practiced at this now, and we are very good at it," Viktor Orbán, Hungary's prime minister, told a group of foreign journalists in September.

The regional reaction to Hungary's fence-building was immediate: Governments in the region sealed more borders, introduced trade bans and began a tit-for-tat torrent of insults. And as the war of words intensified, columns of weary refugees continued trudging northward through these troubled lands. Once again, Europe's poorest and most volatile region was turning into a flashpoint.

It was not supposed to be like this. The wars in the former Yugoslavia ended in 1999. Regional prosperity may be some way off, but peace has held, other than the occasional flare-up. Croatia joined the European Union in 2013. Membership negotiations for Serbia and some

of its neighbors proceed. But the refugee crisis has re-animated traumas, highlighted the region's underlying structural weaknesses and raised pointed questions about the integration of Europe's poorest regions. "This crisis has no precedent. Nobody knows how long it will last, and nobody knows how to tackle it," says György Schöpflin, a Hungarian member of European Parliament for the ruling Fidesz party. "The Balkan countries are relatively poor, and this is putting a serious strain on their resources. The EU has to act if it wants to maintain stability."

The response to Hungary's fence-building came quickly, and a domino effect played out across the region. When Hungary closed its doors to the tens of thousands of refugees heading north, Serbia diverted them across its border to Croatia. Zoran Milanovic, the prime minister of Croatia, demanded that Serbia send some of the refugees to Hungary or Romania and pledged that he would not allow Serbia to "make fools of us." (The two countries fought a brutal war in the early 1990s.) Then Victor Ponta, Romania's prime minister, weighed in,

BY  
**ADAM LEBOR**  
[@adamlebor](https://twitter.com/adamlebor)

SERGEY PONOMAREV/THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX



<sup>+</sup>  
**NO MAN'S LAND:**  
Croatian police  
watch refugees  
and migrants  
walking in a beet  
field on the border  
between Serbia  
and Croatia.



saying that Hungarian decision-makers were “no better than those in Syria, Libya or other countries that refugees flee from.”

Croatia quickly banned all Serbian vehicles from entering the country. Serbia ramped up the rhetoric in response, declaring that Serbia had been “brutally attacked,” even comparing the new regulations to the racial laws imposed by the Croatian Nazi puppet state in World War II. Serbia then banned the import of Croatian goods.

Meanwhile, in Budapest, Orbán’s government declared verbal war on Germany and almost all of Hungary’s neighbors. The Hungarian prime minister accused Angela Merkel, the German chancellor, of “moral imperialism” in trying to impose her liberal vision on the rest of Europe. Hungarians, he said, “cannot think with German minds.” Péter Szijjártó, the foreign minister, accused the Romanian and Croatian prime ministers and the Greek interior minister of lying.

“The regional leaders’ exchanges for the past couple of weeks look more like a show of political entertainment than serious debate,” says Vessela Tcherneva, head of the Sofia office of the European Council on Foreign Relations. “These societies and states feel that they are threatened and have been abandoned by the EU. The EU was the glue that held them together, so now their neighbors are the easiest targets.”

The current hostility between Croatia and Serbia has been shaped in part by domestic political considerations in Zagreb, argues Tim Judah, a Balkan analyst and author of *The Serbs: History, Myth and the Destruction of Yugoslavia*. Elections are to be held no later than February 2016. The Croatian economy has been in recession for six years and only now is showing small signs of growth. “The Croatian prime minister’s center-left government is looking at the elections,” says Judah. “He has not been able to kick-start the economy. The right wing was discredited but is now looking good for a comeback. Taking a tough position against Serbia attracts the right-wing and populist voters.”

Voters also know that Croatia’s response to the refugee crisis has not been impressive, says Judah. “It was obvious that the flow of migrants would be diverted to Croatia. The Croats said they were ready when the first 4,000 people arrived but then decided they weren’t. They looked very limp and unprepared.”

The real winners in the Balkan crisis are the Serbs, who have struggled since the end of the regime of Serbian nationalist strongman Slobodan Milosevic to persuade the world that their country is ready to become a full partner in the liberal European project. Serbia has long been a key staging point on the overland route north from Turkey, through Greece and Macedonia. More than 200,000 refugees and migrants have crossed into Hungary this year, most of them entering through the Serbian border. But the contrast in their reception has been stark.

In Belgrade, Serbia, like Budapest, makeshift transit camps have sprung up around transit

“THIS CRISIS HAS NO PRECEDENT. NOBODY KNOWS HOW LONG IT WILL LAST AND NOBODY KNOWS HOW TO TACKLE IT.”

hubs. In Budapest, municipal authorities provided transit zones with rudimentary facilities, but it was left to volunteer groups to provide food, water and clothes. In Belgrade, the authorities established an information center for refugees in the city center, co-financed by ADRA Germany, a relief agency, the U.N. refugee agency and the local government. Serbian authorities also banned anti-refugee protests by far-right groups. Collective memories of the mass displacement of the Yugoslav wars have also opened people’s hearts; many Serbs themselves are refugees from Croatia and Bosnia. When Hungarian police used water cannons and tear gas on refugees rioting on the Serbian side of the frontier, Aleksandar Vucic, the Serbian prime minister, said Hungary was guilty of “brutal” and “non-European” behavior.

Serbia’s handling of the crisis has changed perceptions of the country and drawn praise from EU officials, says Braca Grubacic, a Belgrade analyst and publisher of the *VIP Daily News Report*, a news and analysis digest. “For the first



time in a long time, Serbia is regarded within the EU as the good guys. The Serbian authorities presented a normal and human face to the world with the way they handled this. We had the migrants here for months; we treated them decently. We did not complain, and we did not demand enormous amounts of money.”

Yet as the crisis shows no signs of abating, Serbian hospitality too may have its limits. Right now, most of the refugees and migrants making their way to the richer countries of Western Europe pass through Serbia. The country, with its Muslim and Albanian minorities, is more cosmopolitan than its central European neighbors. But should a substantial number of these people decide to stay in Serbia, attitudes could change very quickly.

The speed at which Serbia and Croatia resorted to vicious mutual insults has surprised many observers. But it's also a reminder that the wounds of the past, from the wars of the 1990s back to World War I—a conflict sparked by a Serb assassin who shot dead Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo in 1914—are still easily ripped open. “There are different attitudes to history,” says

Tcherneva. “There are some places where they remember people as refugees in the 1990s, and others where they remember them as aggressors.”

Eventually, this crisis will ease, but the damage done to relations between Serbia and Croatia will not heal quickly, says Grubacic. “This kind of deterioration will not help regional cooperation. It will take a long time to recover and open new channels based on trust and cooperation.”

The crisis has also put the EU under enormous strain, highlighting how its institutions work well under smooth conditions but are dismal responding to such massive problems. The EU has failed to show leadership, says Ines Sabalic, head of Zagreb's representation office in Brussels. “This crisis did not happen yesterday. There was enough time to make plans. Instead, we have had the core countries, the old Europe, reprimanding the new Europe for not being welcoming, forward-thinking and progressive. But the core countries, France and Germany, have failed to provide leadership. We need a compromise not only between Berlin, Paris and London, but also between the old and new member states.”

Some in Brussels whisper that the crisis could mark the beginning of the end for the EU. The Schengen zone of visa-free travel—the area in which citizens of EU member states can travel without impediment—has already been restricted as member states reintroduce de facto border controls. That's a huge symbolic and practical blow to the European dream.

But there are others in Brussels and the Balkans who say this crisis might present Europe with an opportunity to draw closer rather than to fragment. If and when the EU discusses how to handle the flow of people from the south, the discussions need to include all countries affected, not just member states, says Tcherneva. “Serbia and Macedonia do not want to be recipients of political decisions. They want to be included in the decision-making process. The western Balkans have to be stabilized and have to be helped. Otherwise, the migrant crisis could take these countries down. Hopefully, this will be southeast Europe's moment.” ■

**ENOUGH:** A man who had collapsed from exhaustion lies on the ground beside Croatian police officers at a reception center near the border with Serbia.

+





## THE NEXT SHOGUN

# Shinzo Abe's critics fear he's moving Japan toward a militaristic future

IT'S EASY to think of Japan as the country that has fallen and can't get up. The country that's in a perpetual economic funk—more than two decades and counting; the country that can't escape deflation no matter how hard it tries. In an era when Western business executives and traders obsess over China, and governments focus on ISIS, Syria, Iran and Vladimir Putin, Japan has receded into international obscurity.

But while much of the world was looking away, Shinzo Abe, the country's prime minister since 2012, has become one of the most consequential Japanese politicians of the postwar era. That became undeniable in the wee hours of September 19, a Saturday morning, when the Japanese parliament (the Diet) passed a series of historic—indeed, once unthinkable—bills, despite massive protests on the streets of Tokyo. From now on, Japan's military, known as its Self-Defense Forces, will be permitted to fight overseas, under the guise of self-defense or coming to an ally's aid—even if Japan is not directly threatened.

It was the most significant shift in Tokyo's defense policy since World War II. The constitution adopted in 1947 during the occupation presided over by U.S. General Douglas MacArthur renounced war, and in its famous Article 9 Japan “formally committed itself to a pacifist course,” as American historian John Dower put it in his Pulitzer Prize-winning book, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II*. “The radicalism of these policies,” he wrote, “shocked the elites who held power when the war ended.”

One of those elites was Nobusuke Kishi, who helped run the Japanese occupation of Manchuria before wartime Prime Minister Hideki Tojo named him to his cabinet as minister of munitions. After Japan's surrender, the U.S. arrested Kishi and held him as an alleged war criminal for three years, but never brought him to trial. Less than a decade later—with the U.S. having turned its attention to waging the Cold War against the Soviet Union—Kishi, a member of the conservative Liberal Democratic Party, became Japan's prime minister.

Kishi loathed Article 9, but he was stuck with it. So he tried to amend another central plank of Tokyo's postwar order: the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty. He believed it made Japan a vassal of Washington and worked furiously to revise it. In 1960, he persuaded President Dwight D. Eisenhower to amend the treaty and presented this new version to the Diet for ratification. That triggered huge demonstrations in Tokyo, including one in which a Tokyo policeman shot and killed a university student. Kishi was forced to resign, and the treaty was not amended.

Nobusuke Kishi was Shinzo Abe's grandfather. And it is an article of faith among the political left in Japan, which views Abe as a neo-nationalist at minimum and a full-throated militarist at worst, that in his pursuit of the historic security bills passed on September 19, he is moving Japan closer to the vision that animated his grandfather: that of a country with a once-again powerful military, able and willing

BY  
BILL POWELL





**FAMILY TRADITION:** Abe is the grandson of Kishi, who became prime minister in the 1950s and sought to revise the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty.

to project force on its own—and no longer Washington’s security lapdog. And there was, indeed, a “déjà vu” all over again quality to the furious debate over the legislation. In the run-up to the passage of the bills, Tokyo was again the scene of massive protests that conjured images of the so-called Days of Rage demonstrations against Kishi in 1960. The difference this time is that Abe succeeded where his grandfather did not.

The people around Abe reject the notion that he is following his grandfather’s example. Tokyo’s security environment is now defined, they say, by a rising and hostile China rapidly

## “THE RADICALISM OF THESE POLICIES SHOCKED THE ELITES.”

increasing its own defense spending and openly making territorial claims to islands that are indisputably part of Japan. “This has nothing to do with the prime minister’s grandfather,” says one Abe adviser. “If you want to know why



these bills passed in the Diet, I suggest you ask [Chinese] President Xi [Jinping].”

The left’s suspicions about Abe are not limited to security policy. This past summer, to little fanfare, Abe’s education ministry sent a letter to the country’s universities that stunned many educators. It asked them to “take active steps to abolish social science and humanities [departments] and convert them to serve areas that better meet society’s needs.” Specifically, the government said it is trying, as the prime minister noted in a speech to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development last year, to implement a curriculum that includes “more practical vocational education.”

Abe’s representatives cast this highly unexpected request as part of what’s become known as Abenomics—the central features of which, to date, have been the adoption of a radical loosening of monetary policy, the devaluation of the yen and an extremely lax fiscal policy. None of that has been particularly successful, and Abe had promised that the “third arrow” of Abenomics—structural economic reforms—would be decisive.

The diktat to the universities was said to be part of this effort—to make higher education more relevant to the needs of employers, with more science and technology and economics and law graduates and less history and political science, as well as anything that might be cast as liberal arts. The request evidently came as news to one of the most conservative and powerful institutions in the country—the Keidanren, the federation of the largest companies in the country, aka Japan Inc. It issued a written protest September 9, saying that its members sought in newly minted graduates “exactly the opposite” of what the ministry of education wants: “students who can solve problems based on ideas encompassing the different fields of science and the humanities.”

The opposition—and particularly the nation’s teachers, traditionally a left-wing stronghold in Japan—freaked out over the proposal. They view it as a Trojan horse for a government with an authoritarian nationalist streak that will try to impose a “patriotic curriculum”—airbrushing Japan’s wartime history, for example, while focusing on producing graduates who can help

build up not only Japan’s economy but also its military. Kishi, they note, proposed similar reforms when *he* was prime minister.

The reaction speaks to the suspicion that surrounds Abe because of his lineage and because he has, in policy terms, been an aggressive prime minister who gets what he wants. Abenomics hasn’t worked, but it’s a fact of life in Japan and has been for more than three years now. So too is the historic security legislation just passed.

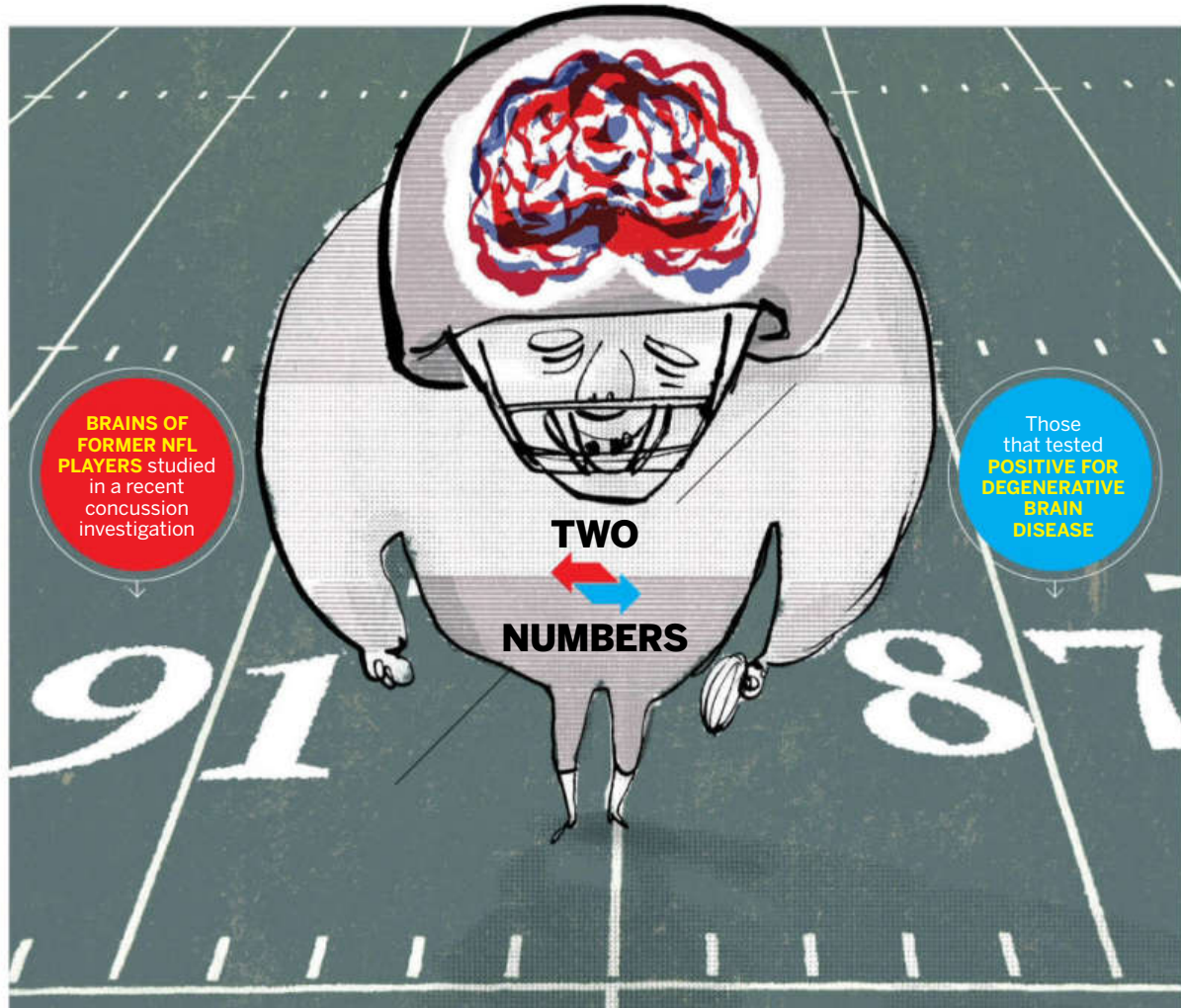
In fairness to the prime minister, the left’s suspicions about the higher education reforms seem, to put it mildly, more than a little fevered. In substance, they may be wrongheaded, but they do not seem particularly political. And despite the opposition, the education ministry is not backing down

## ABENOMICS HASN’T WORKED, BUT IT’S A FACT OF LIFE IN JAPAN AND HAS BEEN FOR THREE YEARS NOW.

and is threatening fines for universities that do not comply. It looks as if Abe will get what he wants again. The most consequential prime minister after World War II, most historians agree, was Shigeru Yoshida, who presided over the immediate postwar period. Shinzo Abe is now No. 2, and he’s not done. His grandfather would be proud. ■

**BAD MEMORIES:**  
The move to allow Japan’s military to fight overseas sparked angry protests in Tokyo and a brawl in parliament.





**BRAINS OF  
FORMER NFL  
PLAYERS** studied  
in a recent  
concussion  
investigation

Those  
that tested  
**POSITIVE FOR  
DEGENERATIVE  
BRAIN  
DISEASE**

**TWO**

**NUMBERS**

## Brain-Rattling Questions

GETTING INTO THE NFL IS A LONG SHOT. GETTING OUT IN ONE PIECE IS IMPOSSIBLE

Playing football is a high-risk proposition. Frequent blows to the head can lead to chronic traumatic encephalopathy (CTE), a degenerative brain disease that causes a spectrum of symptoms, including memory loss, depression, anxiety, aggression and dementia. Recently, a group of researchers from the Department of Veterans Affairs and Boston University examined the brains of deceased football players and found that 87 of 91 former NFL players had CTE. The scientists conducted a total of 165 post-mortem exams of men who played

on college, semi-pro and professional levels. In total, 131 showed signs of the disease.

Due to the small size of the study, the data have their limits. However, they do indicate that CTE is probably more prevalent than previously thought.

In recent years, the NFL has started to respond to pressure to better protect players, spurred on by former athletes who have spoken out about the long-term damage to their brains caused by concussions, and by a \$1 billion lawsuit settled with more than 5,000 former players who accused the league of

concealing and minimizing the health risks of concussions.

A few years ago, the league moved up the kickoff line by 5 yards, in an effort to limit kick returns, which are particularly dangerous because the long distances between athletes on those plays gives them the space to really accelerate before they brutally collide at full speed. Players are also now penalized 15 yards if they duck their heads down to initiate helmet-first contact in the open field.

Bigger changes could also be on the way. For example, NFL Commis-

sioner Roger Goodell has suggested that kickoffs might be eliminated altogether. And those shiny, polycarbonate shells currently wrapped around players' braincases may be on their way out. The NFL recently launched a competition for innovative materials that would better absorb or dissipate energy. Football helmets of the future might be soft and padded, which would take away the formerly beloved crunch of big hits, but could potentially keep both the game and its players alive.

BY  
**JESSICA FIRGER**  
@jessfirger

SOURCE: THE DEPARTMENT OF VETERANS AFFAIRS AND BOSTON UNIVERSITY



## FROM GOD'S LIPS TO THE EARTH'S EARS

### Four questions for the man behind the Pope's pioneering environmental encyclical

POPE FRANCIS'S *Laudato Si'* encyclical, released in June, took humanity to task for its "cheerful recklessness" in pursuit of profits and its exploitation of the earth. We're bludgeoning the most vulnerable parts of society and destroying our only home while we do it, it said, calling for no less than a social and economic paradigm shift.

Behind this sweeping environmental encyclical was Cardinal Peter Turkson, once thought to be a contender for the papacy. Turkson, from Ghana, is now a key adviser to the pope, and he led the creation of the encyclical's first draft and coordinated the team that helped the pope craft the final draft. *Newsweek* spoke to Turkson just as Francis landed in New York City on September 24.

**Some members of Congress have used the Bible to say climate change does not exist.**

**For example, Senator Jim Inhofe once quoted a verse from Genesis: "As long as the earth remains, there will be springtime and harvest, cold and heat, winter and summer." [Genesis 8:22]. And because of this, it would not be possible that we could be changing the climate. How would you respond to that argument?**

**A** I do not want to take any issues with the congressman or engage in any exegetical debate with him about how to read or interpret any part of the Bible or Scriptures. But anybody who is used to the Bible will also recognize that a statement like that must always be contextualized a little bit, placed in its setting—where and when and under what conditions it was said.

The Bible talks about the earth languishing under the sins of human beings. It means that

BY  
**ZOE SCHLANGER**  
[@zoeschlanger](https://twitter.com/zoeschlanger)

**FRANCIS'S RIGHT-HAND MAN:** Cardinal Peter Turkson is a key adviser to the pope, helping write the first draft of the encyclical, *Laudato Si'*. He also heads the pontifical council for justice and peace.

the conduct of human inhabitants of earth can have an impact on the health of the earth. This can also be found in Scriptures. If we go to the beginning, when God introduced the first human couple into the garden he had prepared, he asked them to till and to take care of it. That's the basic current of our relationship to the world in which we live. It's our home. It was given to us as a garden. And it is the task and responsibility of all of us to keep it as a garden and not to pass it on to later generations as a wilderness. That would not be fair, that would not be just.

Q

**Much of the encyclical talks about economic ethics, and a system of economics that encourages unethical behavior, leading to inequality and environmental destruction. Is capitalism a good idea?**

A

This is not the first time an encyclical talks about an economic system that doesn't promote the well-being of everybody in an equal and sustainable manner. But it doesn't quite identify or call it by the name of capitalism. I suppose that's kind of intentional. The basic affirmation is that economics... should try to promote the flourishing of all in an equal manner, if possible.... The pope isn't the only one to observe this. At the meeting of Davos last January, it was also observed by Oxfam that this was still going to get worse, with the few getting richer and richer and the bulk of the human population getting poorer and poorer. This is the type of thing the Holy Father is observing, and inviting us to switch gears. Change of paradigm, so that the world's resources can really be enjoyed by all of humanity in a way.

Q

**How much was Pope Francis involved in the drafting of this encyclical, and was there anything added or taken out you would like to see in a future document?**

A

What any of us did, by way of preparing this, doesn't matter. What we have is the encyclical of the Holy Father. And whatever material he used, and whatever he threw out, it doesn't matter anymore to any of us.

Q

**Later this year, the United Nations will host COP21, a key climate change summit, in Paris. What of this encyclical can or should apply to these U.N. talks?**

A

There are certain concepts in the *Laudato Si'*



which can accompany them as they go to Paris. For example, the sense of care. It's interesting that I use the word *care*. I'm not talking about stewardship or custody or anything, which used to be the way we talked about our relationship with the world in the past. The Holy Father in this particular encyclical uses the word *stewardship* or *custody* only twice. Everything is about care. So it's something more with passion, with interest, with engagement, with commitment.

The second thing is that whatever decisions that are taken can be guided by ethical considerations and by the wisdom of religious

**“WHEN GOD INTRODUCED THE FIRST HUMAN COUPLE INTO THE GARDEN HE HAD PREPARED, HE ASKED THEM TO TILL AND TO TAKE CARE OF IT.”**

traditions. These can also help promote and motivate and inspire people to do something for an improved global environment in which to live our lives. Serious ethical considerations are required. For example, if something is possible to realize, and we have the means to realize it, we should also have the heart to do it.

It's been abundantly said that the world has all the means and the resources to feed all who are hungry. So why is it not done? The world has the means to stop all the wars. Why is it not done? The world has the means to stop all arms trafficking. Why is it not done? So we know about what can be done to make the world a better place. But the willpower is not there. There is an ethical deficit.

That's what *Laudato Si'* brings into that discussion. It's not simply technological consideration. It's technological consideration guided by serious ethical consideration. ■



## SECOND-CLASS NONCITIZENS

# Resentment is building among refugees in Europe as European governments make it easier for Syrians to stay

**IT TOOK** Hagos Hadgu 11 traumatic months to travel from Eritrea to his temporary home in a Swedish refugee camp. Along the way, he made deals with smugglers, was held captive by terrorists and almost drowned crossing the Mediterranean. And in Libya, so close to the continent he believed would give him and his wife, Natsnet, refuge, he became separated from her. He doesn't know if she is alive or dead.

Throughout the ordeal, what kept Hadgu going was the hope of gaining asylum in Europe. But when he arrived in Italy, he was told by refugees that getting to the United Kingdom—his preferred destination—would be almost impossible. Since then, and especially in recent weeks, he has come to believe that one thing above all others would help him find a new home in Europe: being Syrian.

Hadgu's sense that Syrians are increasingly being given priority over other refugee populations as part of the largest migration of people in Europe since World War II is shared by many asylum-seekers. Statements and policy decisions by European officials and governments have compounded this belief that not all refugees arriving in Europe are being treated equally.

In Germany, which receives the largest number of asylum applications of any European country, officials are being increasingly explicit with their policies. "Syrians have a prioritized procedure [in Germany] right now," Kira Gehrmann, a spokeswoman for the country's Federal

Office for Migration and Refugees, tells *Newsweek*. "They don't need to attend a personal hearing. It is enough when they fill out a written form. Furthermore, they are being prioritized by our staff concerning the processing of their applications."

Following the death of Aylan Kurdi, a 3-year-old Syrian boy who drowned off the Turkish coast on September 2, many Europeans expressed deep sympathy for Syria's refugees. The British government, for example, announced it would take in 20,000 Syrians over the next five years. In Washington, President Barack Obama told his administration on September 10 to prepare to take in at least 10,000 Syrian refugees over the next year.

On the Greek island of Lesbos, an arrival point for thousands of asylum-seekers, officials held a mass registration for Syrian refugees on September 7, in a bid to clear the growing numbers of asylum-seekers on the island. "Across Europe, Syrians are getting accepted more quickly," says Paul Donohoe, a spokesman for the International Rescue Committee, which is assisting refugees on the island. "Everyone knows that Syria is at war, and everyone knows what they are fleeing from, so that makes things easier."

In all refugee crises, various factors—including geographical proximity, economic self-interest and pressure from activists—shape the decisions made by host governments about which nationalities to open their doors to. Europe is geographically close to Syria, and some of the EU's

BY  
**MIRREN GIDDA**  
[@MirrenGidda](https://twitter.com/MirrenGidda)



**REFUGEE  
REFUGEE:** Two  
Eritrean minors  
wait to board a  
ferry on the Greek  
island of Samos  
after being  
released from a  
detention center.

member states have direct involvement in the region. British air force pilots have been participating this year in airstrikes over Syria as part of the U.S.-led coalition against ISIS. On September 7, French President François Hollande announced that France would begin reconnaissance flights over Syria the next day. Once these were concluded, he said, “we will be ready to conduct strikes.” Geopolitical reasons aside, Syrian refugees, who are often highly educated, are appealing to countries like Germany, which has an aging labor force.

Inevitably, prioritizing one group means the neglecting of others. While non-Syrian refugees must go through a lengthy asylum process, their claims assessed on a case-by-case basis, they are watching Syrian refugees in some EU countries get asylum almost automatically. “If you feel that you’re being ignored, or not being helped, or not having your rights respected, that will cause resentment,” says Sherif Elsayed-Ali, head of refugee and migrants’ rights at Amnesty International. “This resentment happens in every refugee crisis. The issue is not to exacerbate the resentment with policies that only benefit one group.”

Hadgu is likely to qualify for refugee status because he fled Eritrea’s oppressive regime. He will be interviewed for his asylum claim in October. The odds are on his side because Sweden grants asylum to almost all Eritrean refugees. But even

“SYRIANS ARE  
GETTING ACCEPTED  
MORE QUICKLY.  
EVERYONE KNOWS  
SYRIA IS AT WAR.”

in Sweden, which last year received the highest number of asylum requests in Europe per capita, there are no guarantees. Hadgu is concerned that the European focus on Syrians is affecting other refugees more generally. “It makes me really sad,” he says. “I’ve been through a lot, and any human rights abuse that you can name happens in Eritrea. The only thing is, we don’t have a visible war like in Syria.”

Hadgu did not flee war, but his odyssey was as tough as many of the journeys undertaken by Syrians. In June, after traveling through Ethiopia and Sudan, he and his wife finally reached Libya, their crossing point to Europe. As the couple headed in a convoy toward the capital city of Tripoli, fighters from a militia allied with ISIS ambushed the refugees and took 86 Eritreans hostage. Among the captives were Hadgu and his wife. “They let the



Muslims go and kept the Christians,” says Hadgu, himself a Christian. “I knew what would happen to us. I knew we’d be beheaded.”

Preferring to risk being shot, Hadgu and a friend jumped from the truck ISIS fighters were transporting them in. His wife, who was heavily pregnant, couldn’t follow. In early August, Hadgu heard through other Eritreans who escaped from ISIS that she was still alive at that point, but he has not had news of her since—and it torments him. When he escaped, he says, he was thinking only about himself and whether he would survive. “My biggest regret is that I jumped. I should have helped her.”

Hadgu eventually arrived in Tripoli and crammed himself into an old wooden boat bound for Italy. On board were 300 other refugees. Three hundred more were being towed behind the front boat in two separate vessels. After 12 hours, seawater began seeping into the lower deck where Hadgu was lying, crammed in with so many other bodies. “All you do,” he says, “is pray you get rescued alive.”

Eventually, the Italian coast guard spotted the boats and towed all three to shore. Once in Europe, Hadgu made his way to Germany and then to Sweden, arriving just before the Aylan Kurdi tragedy became news.

In Berlin, Talal Hussein, a doctor from the northern Iraqi city of Mosul, has been waiting eight months for a ruling on his asylum application. He fled his home five months after ISIS occupied the city in June of last year. “In Mosul there is no life, no salaries, no security,” he says. “You cannot say, ‘I will live tomorrow.’”

Desperate to start his new life, Hussein says the German government is prioritizing refugees from Syria. This makes little sense, he says, when many people from both countries are fleeing the same tormentor—ISIS. “We have the same situation, we have the same problem, but why we are differentiated I cannot understand. Many Iraqi refugees have now come from Iraq, and the situation here is miserable.”

Some refugees, afraid that they might be barred from entering Western Europe as countries like Germany, Austria, Hungary and Croatia try to tighten their border controls, are now claiming

to be Syrian to boost their chances of entry. Ewa Moncure, a spokeswoman for EU border management agency Frontex, says that non-Syrian refugees and economic migrants now “see a Syrian passport as their best, but by no means guaranteed, chance of getting asylum.”

In an interview on September 1 with French radio station Europe 1, Frontex Executive Director Fabrice Leggeri said a trade in fake Syrian passports has sprung up, particularly in Turkey. Like many genuine refugees, the people carrying these documents, Leggeri said, “come from North Africa, the Middle East, but they have the profile of economic migrants.” Friederike von Tiesenhausen, a spokeswoman for the German Finance Ministry, told reporters on September 4 that customs officials have intercepted mail packages containing both real and fake Syrian passports.

Many Syrians now worry that the influx of fake papers will slow the asylum process and could make European officials suspicious of them too. “I think it’s criminal, it’s worrying,” says Georges Malki, head of the Syrian Swedish Peace Association, a community group that aims to raise aware-

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“IF YOU FEEL THAT YOU’RE BEING IGNORED, OR NOT BEING HELPED, OR NOT HAVING YOUR RIGHTS RESPECTED, THAT WILL CAUSE RESENTMENT.”

---

ness of what is happening in Syria and supports President Bashar Assad’s regime. “In Sweden now they don’t accept too many Syrian identification documents because they believe that they are not given by Syrian authorities.”

The trade in false passports may temporarily slow genuine Syrian asylum claims, but it is unlikely to ultimately hinder them. If anything, the scramble for fake papers is just another indication of the pent-up desire among many in the Middle East, Africa and South Asia to find new homes in Europe. As the pressure from the sheer numbers builds on generous countries like Germany and Sweden, their governments will have to make sure they are seen as evenhanded to all refugees. The last thing the continent needs now are communities of newcomers who feel they’ve been unfairly shut out of the European dream. ■


## Names in the News

UP, DOWN AND SIDEWAYS

 @WisdomWatch



### BEN CARSON

 Takes a lot of heat (but sees big donor bounce) after saying Muslim should not be president of U.S. Doesn't believe in evolution either. Says Obamacare is worst thing since slavery. Famous neurosurgeon separated conjoined twins but can't sew his own mouth shut.

### NASA

 Denies Earth will soon be destroyed by asteroid, shutting down online conspiracy of impending astro-apocalypse. Guy who started rumor remains in his mom's basement.



### NATIONAL PUNCTUATION DAY

 Celebration of period, comma and semicolon by grammar Nazis. Parties erupt as night-clubs take in revelers; Oxford comma reportedly left out of the celebrations.



### IMMACULATE CONCEPTION

 Snake gives birth without interacting with opposite sex. Potent mixed symbolism of serpent experiencing miracle of virgin birth forces God and Satan to hold joint press conference.



### E-BOOKS

 Sales down despite long predicted death of print. Publishers say hard copies selling better. Jonathan Franzen desperately roams streets of Brooklyn, searching for something else to complain about.



### PETA

 Lawyers in selfie-taking-monkey lawsuit contend monkey owns pic, but photographer says he set up camera for primate. While testifying in court, monkey eats judge's banana, flings own poop at jury.



# GOD, GUN'S & GANJA

By NINA BURLEIGH

IF YOU WANT TO SEE  
THE FUTURE OF  
U.S. POLITICS, LOOK AT  
COLORADO, HOME TO  
GUN-HUGGERS  
AND POT SMOKERS,  
PRO-LIFERS AND  
ATHEISTS—BUT RUNNING  
FOR THE MIDDLE  
GROUND



E CANNABIS  
UNUM: In 2012,  
Colorado passed  
marijuana legis-  
lation that made  
even Amsterdam  
look stuffy.



# “YOU ARE AT GROUND ZERO

of an unbridled fascist contagion of fundamentalist Christianity, supremacy, exceptionalism, triumphalism and extremism.” Former Reagan White House lawyer Michael L. “Mikey” Weinstein is holding forth at a table in the Broadmoor, the renowned Colorado Springs resort where George W. Bush famously vowed to stop drinking the morning after his 40th birthday. In the porte cochère, taxidermied elk have stared with glassy eyes at countless military contractors and Pentagon brass arriving to meet commanders at Cheyenne Mountain, the piney bunker for America’s nuclear weapons command looming above the hotel.

Weinstein, a pugnacious Air Force Academy graduate, third-generation military, with a fire-engine-red polo shirt and a beacon of a bald head, prefers to meet at this five-star nuclear Xanadu because it has “good security”—something he has needed since he founded the Military Religious Freedom Foundation in 2005, representing more than 42,000 active-duty military who object to Christian evangelizers in uniform. Weinstein, who endured anti-Semitic taunts as a cadet, has had to clean feces and animal heads off his lawn and fields death threats for filing complaints about proselytizers, such as the Air Force Academy professor who scrawled a red heart on his blackboard this past Valentine’s Day that read, “Jesus wants you to be his valentine,” and the engineering professor at the same institution who told his students the only equation they really needed to know was “1 (cross) + 3 (nails) = 4 (given).”

Colorado, geographical heart of the United States, home base for America’s air defenses, is also the nation’s fun-house-mirror Mini-Me, a schizophrenic state of political contradictions. Atheists fight Christian evangelical organizations in Colorado Springs, while anti-abortion evangelicals are trying to get voters to redefine embryos as persons.



Two of the nation’s worst gun massacres happened here, and yet assault weapons and concealed carry are legal everywhere except Denver. But Colorado, as one political consultant puts it, is not Alabama. It is home to some of the nation’s most progressive institutions, ideas and individuals. It was the first state to legalize abortion; its post-Aurora firearms restrictions have withstood sustained attacks from the gun lobby; the nation’s top climate scientists are based here; and its citizens have been legally buying, growing, selling, eating and smoking weed since January 2014.

With God, guns and ganja entwined in the state’s culture, Colorado is the swingiest of swing states. The Rocky Mountain State went Republican in all but two presidential elections between 1952 and 2004—but then picked Barack Obama twice. A progressive coalition turned the state Legislature Democratic in 2004 for the first time since 1960, but



**EYES ON THE SKIES:**  
The Air Force Academy  
has been peppered with  
protests because of the  
proliferation of prosely-  
tizers in uniform.

Republicans have since recaptured the Colorado Senate. The two parties have been trading the governor's office and two U.S. Senate seats with the slimmest of margins. And Coloradans get to vote on things like legalizing pot and defining embryos as people because there's a relatively low bar for getting issues onto the ballot.

The wild card here is that while passionate, issue-driven groups manipulate some blocs of voters, the state is filling up with unaligned millennials. Colorado has clusters of vocal religious conservatives, but attacks on reproductive rights bring young, single women out to vote for Democrats. Colorado's politics look extreme, but folks in Denver

say the real action is in the middle. National politicians who can navigate Colorado's contradictions probably get America too. That might be why Hillary Clinton scheduled her first campaign stop outside the early primary states there.

### WITH GOD ON WHOSE SIDE?

**THE U.S. AIR FORCE ACADEMY** is in the vicinity of a godly triangle. It takes five minutes to drive from there to the 87-acre compound of Focus on the Family, founded by James Dobson, known for saying that Connecticut's Sandy Hook school massacre was God's revenge for legal abortion and gay marriage in America, and that battered women bait their men into violence. One can see the massive blue dome of New Life Church, a megachurch with 14,000 parishioners (and former home of defrocked Pastor Ted Haggard, outed by a male escort), from the entrance to the Air Force Academy, and New Life sends in buses on Sunday to ferry cadets to services. Colorado Christian University, home to a major Christian conservative political think tank, is just down the highway.

Weinstein attended the Air Force Academy in the 1970s, but he didn't start fighting against its Christian activism until his two sons went there and complained about the "para-church organizations," like Cru (Campus Crusade for Christ) and the Navigators, which have free run of the campus and at one point plastered the common areas with fliers for screenings of Mel Gibson's controversial *The Passion of the Christ*.

It's difficult to know which came first—the Air Force proselytizers or the area's Christian fundamentalist community. Colorado Springs started inviting evangelical organizations like Focus on the Family in the 1980s for economic reasons. Since many residents are active or retired military, and also happen to be conservative and religious, it was a natural fit.

Besides colonizing Colorado Springs and the U.S. Air Force Academy, religious conservatives are pushing draconian abortion restrictions, like "personhood," in the state that legalized abortion first, before 1973's *Roe v. Wade* decision.

Last winter, the Republican Senate considered six anti-abortion bills, including fetal homicide legislation with boilerplate language crafted by a national anti-abortion outfit, Americans United for Life, and mandatory transvaginal ultrasounds. "In my

almost eight years here, that is the most anti-abortion legislation we have ever seen in one session," says lawyer Cathy Alderman, vice president of public affairs for Planned Parenthood of the Rocky Mountains.

Colorado voters have also considered three ballot measures defining life as beginning at conception with personhood amendments to their state constitution. Bob Enyart, or "Pastor Bob," has a radio show out of Denver and is on

## **AMERICA IS THE GREATEST NATION. YOU HAVE THE RIGHT TO SUCCEED AND THE RIGHT TO SUCK.**

the board of Colorado Right to Life. Working with Personhood USA, another national anti-abortion organization based in Colorado, Pastor Bob and CRTL gathered the signatures to get personhood amendments on Colorado ballots. Voters shot down the proposal three times, but on each occasion it garnered 1 or 2 percent more support, which CRTL regards as a sign of success.

Pastor Bob agreed to sit down in the lobby of Denver's Brown Palace Hotel and discuss strategy in an era when a majority of Coloradans support legal abortion. He says his litmus test remains, no matter what the polls say: "Any politician willing to kill a single person is disqualified." CRTL's influence on Colorado's Republican-controlled Senate is strong enough that it let die this year a nationally recognized teen birth control program that cut teen pregnancies and abortions by 40 percent in the state. The bottom line on that program, he says, was that it encouraged teen girls to have sex. "If you don't love God, our creator, you celebrate irresponsibility. You hate God." Birth control pills, he believes, are bad for women. "A college athlete taking the same amount of steroids would be kicked off the team."

Pastor Bob and CRTL arrange daily protests outside abortion clinics, trying to talk patients out of having the procedure. He directed me to the Planned Parenthood office in Denver, where several protesters waited by the parking lot with a poster of a bloody fetus. A man with a long white beard had brought a ladder to perch in the branches of a pine tree overlooking the lot and, gnome-like, whisper to passing women below, "Don't kill your baby."

Thirty miles north of Denver, Dr. Warren Hern works behind bulletproof glass. Hern, 76, is one of four doctors in the United States who openly perform third-term abortions. Hern was studying public health when the Supreme Court handed down its *Roe v. Wade* decision. Colorado had already decriminalized abortion in cases of rape, incest and fetal disability in 1967, and Hern came home and started a practice. "I decided doing abortions was the most important thing I could do in medicine."

Forty years on, Hern believes he could meet the same fate as his friend George Tiller—a Kansas doctor who provided third-term abortions and was shot and killed by an anti-abortion fanatic in 2009. Hern has erected a wall between his office and the sidewalk, as well as bulletproof glass around his receptionist. Cellphones must be surrendered upon entry. Boulder was among the first cities in the nation to pass a so-called "bubble law" requiring abortion protesters to stay 8 feet from women entering clinics. But Hern says the law is ineffectual. "The person who's being assaulted has to call for help. She's not going to call for help. My patients have a catastrophic problem: They want to have a baby, and there is something terribly wrong. And they get harassed mercilessly by these people. They have no pity."

Like Weinstein, Hern calls the religious opposition "fascists." "You can't debate fascists who want to kill you," he says. "They are opposed to the basic premises of Western society." Hern is no Second Amendment zealot, but he has been sleeping with a shotgun near his bed since the 1970s.

**HIGH THERE:** There's an annual smoke-in near the state Capitol building in Denver to celebrate the legalization of pot. It takes place on April 20, because 4:20 is a common euphemism for toking up.



## SHOOT OUT THE LIGHTS

**BY DAY,** Aurora is indistinguishable from other pop-up exurbs along Interstate 25, with purple mountains to the west, fruited plains to the east. The urban and exurban strip constitutes Colorado's most densely populated area. Almost every store is a franchise of a national chain, and almost every home is planted on a curving street with a name that is some combination of the words *rock*, *creek*, *stony*, *ridge* or *pine*. But at night, the wilderness-dark seeps across the acres of poured cement that surround Town Center at



HELEN H. RICHARDSON/THE DENVER POST/GETTY

Aurora, a mall whose parking lot is so vast, not even the lights of the marquee at the Century 16 multiplex penetrate all its shadows. They certainly did not shine on James Holmes as he slipped out of an emergency exit door late on July 20, 2012, armed himself, donned tactical military gear, then slipped back inside to spray moviegoers with hundreds of bullets, killing 12 people and wounding 70 others before going back out into the dark to wait for the cops.

The Century Aurora 16 theaters are still open, and on a recent summer night, almost exactly three years after the massacre and a few days before a jury returned 165 guilty

verdicts against the former neuroscience student, dozens of parents and children waited patiently to catch a late showing of *Minions* 3-D. Assault weapons, as well as concealed or open carry, are legal almost everywhere in Colorado except Denver, and these gun rights have not diminished since the double carnage of Columbine in 1999 and Aurora in 2012. (Colorado's concealed carry law, expanding gun rights, was passed in 2003, arguably in response to Columbine.) Area gun control advocates like Moms Demand Action are at war not just with the National Rifle Association but with a homegrown lobby, Rocky Mountain Gun Owners, which

has been getting state legislators elected and unelected with a massive email list, a conduit for daily spams with alarming warnings and donations links.

In 2013, the Democratic-controlled Legislature passed measures banning online-only training for concealed weapons permits, requiring people to pay for their background checks, limiting the size of ammunition magazines to 15 rounds and making background checks mandatory on private gun sales and transfers. That brought a furious gun lobby backlash and two recall elections, including that of the Senate president. In 2014, the Senate returned to Republican control, thanks in part to the efforts of the gun lobby.

The post-Aurora gun control laws remain in place, but death by bullet remains tragically frequent, like the apparently errant shot in Pike National Forest that killed a man in July as he roasted marshmallows with his grandkids. The source of that bullet, as well as whether it was fired deliberately, remains unknown, but it highlighted the issue of gun safety in a fully armed state.

Massacres like Columbine and Aurora do not move Dudley Brown, Colorado's chief gun lobbyist, head of the Rocky Mountain Gun Owners, to seek compromise. On the contrary, he calls the NRA spineless, while it sneers that he is "the Al Sharpton of the gun movement." Brown, who drives around in a Pinzgauer, a Cold War-era Austrian troop transport truck that he calls his "political pain delivery vehicle," controls enough money to make a difference in the state Senate and probably the Republican presidential primary. He agreed to meet with *Newsweek* less than 24 hours after the Aurora guilty verdicts at one of his customary hangouts, the Front Range Gun Club, in a Loveland suburban business park about an hour from downtown Denver. The lobby of the indoor range was a hive of mostly male employees in royal blue polo shirts, holstered weapons on their belts, helping customers, including a young man at the glass-top counter who wanted to show his preteen daughter how to hold a handgun before taking her down into the shooting gallery for the first time. "Will it make a loud noise?" she asked as he positioned her fingers around it.

Tall, lumbering and graying blond, Brown strode in wearing khakis with a holstered handgun and, apropos of the youthful customer, shared pictures on his phone of his preteen son and daughter, both posed with assault weapons. He instructed me in the proper firing of two weapons belonging to the range owner's wife—a purple plastic Czech handgun and purple plastic semi-automatic AR-15 (the make of one of Holmes's weapons). They both made loud noises.

According to Brown, there is hardly a man, woman or child in America who should not have access to a weapon and be allowed to take it almost anywhere. He doesn't worry about Aurora-style massacres or mentally ill people buying guns. Felons who've served time should be able to get them too. "What keeps me up at night is thinking

about all the defenseless people we've disarmed," he says. "If I'd been in that theater, he might have killed one or two people—that's it." But he wasn't in the theater, and he won't ever go into it, because they don't allow patrons to carry concealed weapons. And he avoids such places unless he absolutely must go in.

Brown can think of only one sort of place where he might agree that the government should ban weapons: "where government can guarantee your safety—places with metal detectors, like police stations. And if you can't do that, then you better let people defend themselves." Then he reconsiders whether police could truly guarantee his safety. "You know what they say—police are just forensic historians."

When Rocky Mountain Gun Owners pushed Colorado Senate Republican leaders this year to repeal the post-Aurora law expanding background checks to private gun sales and transfers, Dave Hoover, a police officer whose nephew was killed at the theater, testified against it. "Here we are, dealing with the pain of reliving it," he said to the committee. "It never goes away. It will never go away."

That leaves Brown unmoved. "I understand their grief," he says of the Aurora survivors. "I would never rub that in

their face. But what I would say to them is my constitutional rights are not subject to your grief."

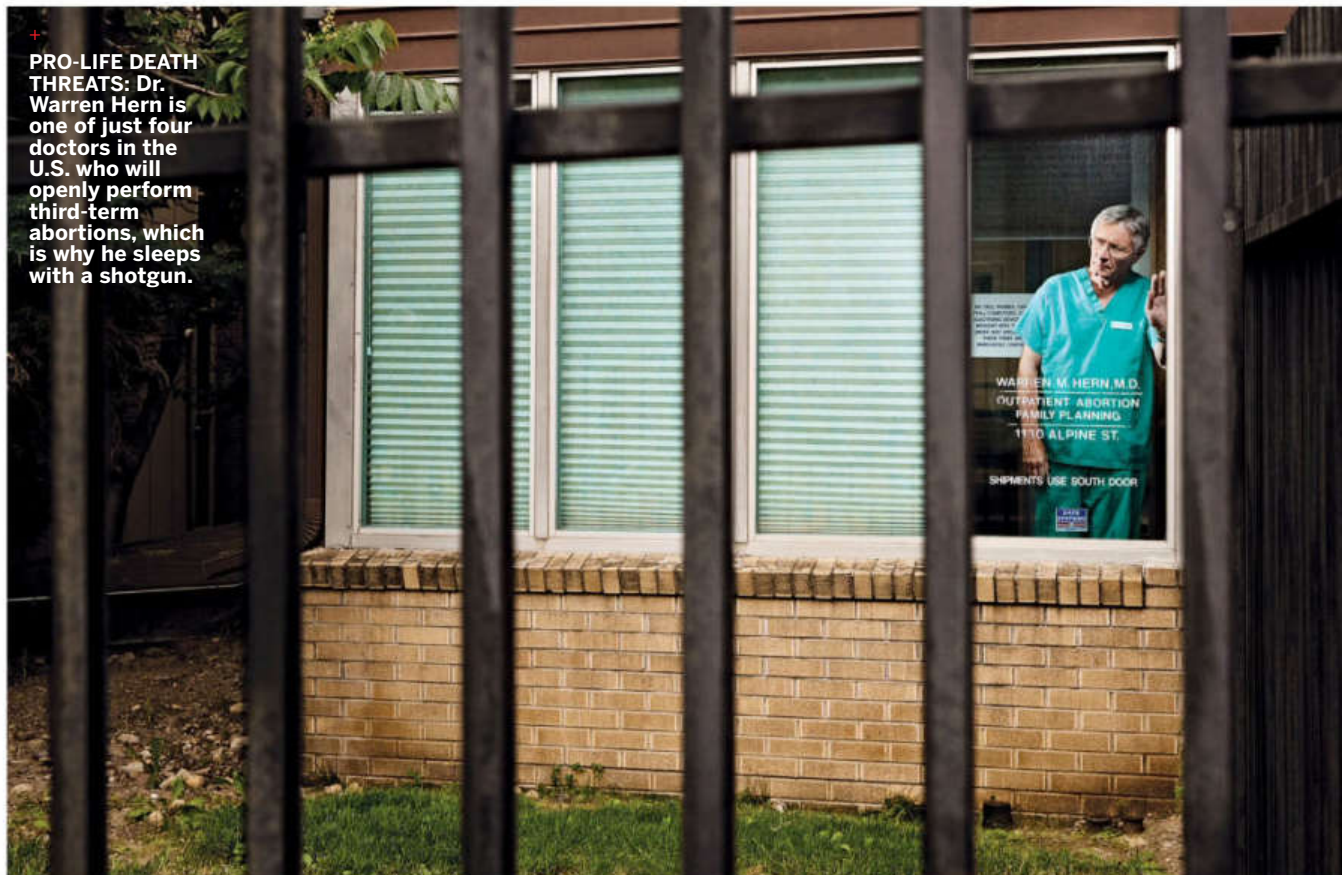
**I DECIDED DOING  
ABORTIONS  
WAS THE MOST  
IMPORTANT THING  
I COULD DO IN  
MEDICINE.**

**GANJA STYLE**

IN NOVEMBER 2012, Colorado voters passed Amendment 64 by almost 9 percent, adding a new right to their constitution: the right to use, produce and distribute marijuana. It was unprecedented, arguably going beyond even Amsterdam's loose drug laws, and the political establishment was flummoxed. "Don't break out the Cheetos or Goldfish too quickly," Governor John Hickenlooper, a Democrat, announced the next day—and indeed, the law has been rolled out with a raft of complicated licensing and regulatory details. Weed entrepreneurs, law enforcers and users alike are still sorting through what's legal and what's not.

For the confused, the first stop might be a little café less than 30 minutes from the Air Force Academy and its triangle of Christian evangelism. The Studio A64 cannabis club's owner, KC Stark, is a doppelgänger for horn player Chet Baker, with his greaser haircut, mod sideburns and black clothes. An Army veteran stationed in Germany when the wall fell, Stark is a lifetime pot user who calls himself the Steve Jobs of weed, as well as a one-man marijuana chamber of commerce. His Marijuana Business Academy has provided thousands of how-to seminars to aspiring weed entrepreneurs. "Marijuana is the fastest growing industry in America," says Stark. "We estimate the marijuana business will generate 2.7 billion annually nationwide this year, and in 10 years, between 10 and 40 billion annually." That economic infusion will—he believes—remake

**PRO-LIFE DEATH THREATS:** Dr. Warren Hern is one of just four doctors in the U.S. who will openly perform third-term abortions, which is why he sleeps with a shotgun.



**ARE WE HAVING GUN YET?** The man who runs Rocky Mountain Gun Owners refuses to patronize businesses that ban concealed weapons.

FROM TOP: JAMIE KRIPKE; BRENNAN LINSLEY/AP



**BLOWING SMOKE?** Despite the popularity of pot legislation, Colorado's Democratic governor has vowed to tighten up the laws.

Colorado's and eventually America's economy into a libertarian utopia of mom-and-pop entrepreneurs selling locally grown weed for everything from backaches to recreation. "America is the greatest nation," he says. "You have the right to succeed and the right to suck. You have the right to try and the right to fail."

The thing that bothers him most is that everyone doesn't see it. "We can't advertise on the NFL, even though we're as big as Viagra!" he complains.

About an hour up I-25 from Colorado Springs, business professor Jim Parco might be said to share this vision, though he's never heard of Stark and has no interest in his cannabis club. High school valedictorian, squeaky-clean Air Force Academy graduate, married to his childhood sweetheart, Parco had never tried marijuana—in fact, he thought it was evil—when he and his wife, a schoolteacher, decided to invest their savings in a dispensary. When they told their college-age daughters, one was so shocked she refused to talk about it for several weeks. Parco has now invested nearly \$1 million and says he hopes to run it as a side business until he retires. He anticipates a time when marijuana businesses will proliferate around the state like vineyards.

## THE RACE TO THE MIDDLE

**RETIRED AIR FORCE MAJOR GENERAL** Irv Halter lives less than five minutes from Focus on the Family's campus. A

decorated fighter pilot who served in Iraq and Afghanistan, Halter had his last military assignment with the Joint Chiefs of Staff. As vice superintendent of the Air Force Academy, he often fielded Mikey Weinstein's complaints about campus proselytizers. He doesn't agree that Colorado Springs is an "unbridled fascist contagion of Christian fundamentalism," but he recognized some problems at the Academy and usually responded to the Military Religious Freedom Foundation's complaints by quietly making changes.

Halter is Colorado's political center. He used to vote Republican, but last year he ran and lost a bid for Congress as a Democrat. "I didn't leave the Republican Party. The Republican Party left me," he says. He now heads Governor Hickenlooper's Department of Local Affairs.

Halter says that while Colorado can be a state of extremes, playing to the edges is a doomed strategy because the state is getting younger, more apolitical. "Young people don't see the world the same way as they did 18 years ago. You can't win running left or right." For Halter, it's moderation in all things, whether guns, pot or religion. Colorado's guns trouble him most. Like Dudley Brown, Halter knows his way around weapons, and he keeps a gun or two. He understands why some of his neighbors, especially in some of the remoter exurbs along I-25, might want a weapon. "Look, you can't get 911 to come out to many of the places in the sparsely populated areas," he says. "But I am concerned

about everybody packing weapons. In Iraq and Afghanistan everybody did carry weapons. And if something happens, everybody starts shooting.... From my perspective as a military guy, it's not just about rights—it's about responsibility."

Among Halter's duties is helping communities qualify for moneys from the state's oil and gas severance tax. That energy boon is one reason Halter and most of the state political establishment are in no hurry to restrict coal mining or ban fracking, a bane of environmentalists. "I'm a centrist. Hickenlooper is a centrist," Halter says. "Oil is a commodity, and folks will keep bringing it out of the ground. Our approach is businesslike: What can we practically get done? Leave aside the divisive issues."

Moderation is the key to Colorado politics, according to Democratic political consultant Craig Hughes. From his office in an old rowing club along the banks of the South Platte River, in downtown Denver, Hughes keeps one eye on the dynamics of his state's politics on his laptop and one out his window, where he can see the influx of millennials and tech entrepreneurs in the hip, urban neighborhoods near his office—the young, politically unaffiliated people who are changing the state's economy and demography. A native Coloradan, Hughes got his start as a Bill Clinton campaign operative and could have stayed in Washington, but he couldn't imagine raising his three kids in a city. In his home state, he ran campaigns for Obama and more recently, Colorado's Democratic Senator Michael Bennet, whose election in 2010 went against the national anti-Democratic trend that year. "Colorado is the ultimate battleground state," he says. "It will be in play and highly contested to the end."

Hughes says that despite the state's heated culture wars, Colorado is a model of compromise, because the vast majority of its citizens are independents with a libertarian streak. "You don't live here because you follow politics," he says. "We're not a political state. The goal of politics here is 'Don't mess up my life.' So people push for real solutions. We have seen far more bipartisan cooperation than in other states. You see a lot more cooperation here than you will in Washington."

The best proof of that apolitical tendency can be found—surprise—in Colorado Springs, where Focus on the Family Founder James Dobson gave his final radio broadcast in 2010. He moved on partly because his overtly political activities put the organization's charitable status in jeopardy, but also because new times demanded a new approach. His replacement, Jim Daly, is a low-key, affable native Californian who has worked with Focus on the Family since 1989. I met Daly the day after he'd returned from a two-week vacation with his teen sons, which prompted him to confess to a political change of heart. He now says he would have supported the Clinton-era Family and Medical Leave Act, a statute Focus on the Family adamantly opposed because of its supposedly detrimental effect on small businesses. "That should have been something we

should have said would be good for family," Daly says. "I think we could have been a little more attuned to things that helped families. And if it raised taxes a little, so what?"

Besides breaking from the time-honored Republican strategy of binding conservative social issues to tax opponents, Daly has been seeking "points of collaboration" with former foes in the gay and feminist movements. "Dobson and [Jerry] Falwell and [Pat] Robertson were born in the '30s," he says. "And if I'd been born then, I'd probably be saying, 'Maintain all the values of that time.' But being born in the '60s, it's a different world. And that's hard for the older generation to take."

Daly referred me to his new friend, Denver gay rights activist Ted Trimpa, who has been called "the left's answer to Karl Rove." Trimpa was one of the architects of the national strategy for legalizing gay marriage. The two men first met at a dinner party in 2014 and quickly forged what they say is both a sincere personal friendship and one of the strangest political alliances in the nation.

Trimpa, a trim, bespectacled political Denver lawyer who got his start on the dark side, as a lawyer representing the interests of cigarette companies, says Colorado's political edges promote rather than retard progressive social change. "You need extremists on the right and left to make change, otherwise the middle doesn't pay attention," he says. "You want the Dudley Browns [although Trimpa calls Brown "evil"] and the Bernie Sanderses. It's when public perception is deformed by [extremists] that it's a problem. There are many more opportunities for common ground because of the extremes. We have a better opportunity to get things done because we can say, 'We don't want to be like them.'"

After he and Daly became friends, they searched for an issue on which they could agree. They found it in a trafficking bill Colorado passed this year. "He will never agree with me on gay marriage," says Trimpa, who proposed to his boyfriend after the Supreme Court ruling this year. "But we are both trying to achieve things

in the best interests of children, and stability of relationships is one aspect of that. So we are working the middle. Jim is that kind of thinker, and that's why I love him."

Perhaps the single greatest symbol of Colorado's political lurching can be found in a simple can of beer. Coors, the iconic Colorado beverage "brewed with pure Rocky Mountain spring water," has been a culture wars icon, right up there for decades with Che Guevara T-shirts and Robertson. Progressives boycotted the brand from the 1960s on for allegedly sexist and racist practices, as well as for mistreating its labor force. The conservative Coors family were the Koch brothers of their day, reliably bankrolling the right for decades. But today, the brand is associated with the LGBT movement, sponsoring gay events from coast to coast, after a corporate marketing effort targeted at gays and initially spearheaded by none other than Mary Cheney, the arch-conservative former veep's lesbian daughter. **N**

## **THE GOAL OF POLITICS HERE IS 'DON'T MESS UP MY LIFE.'**

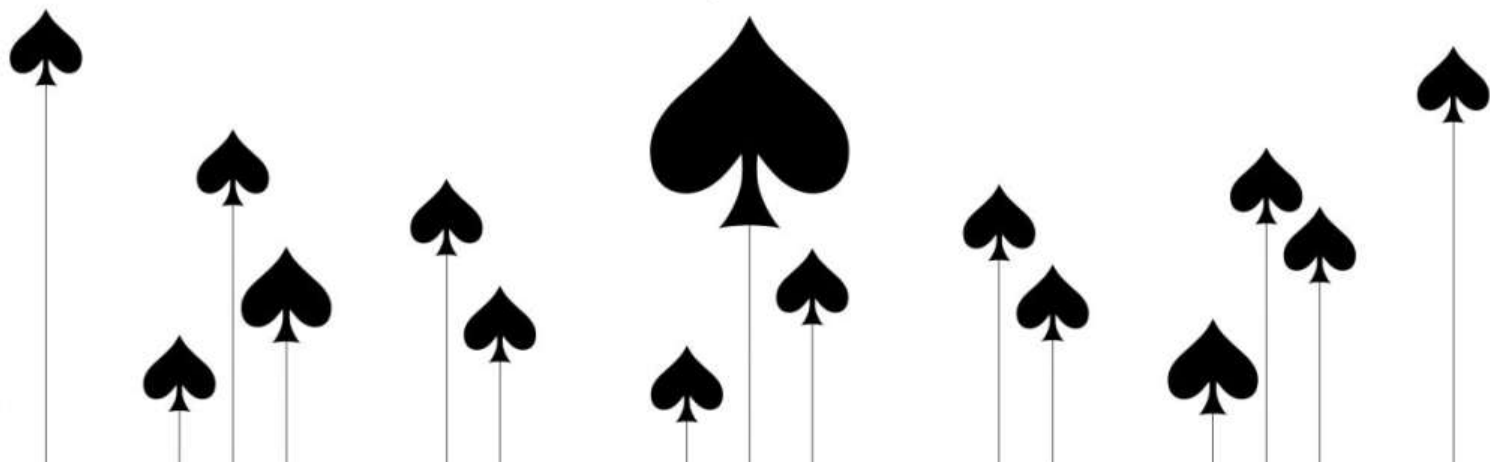


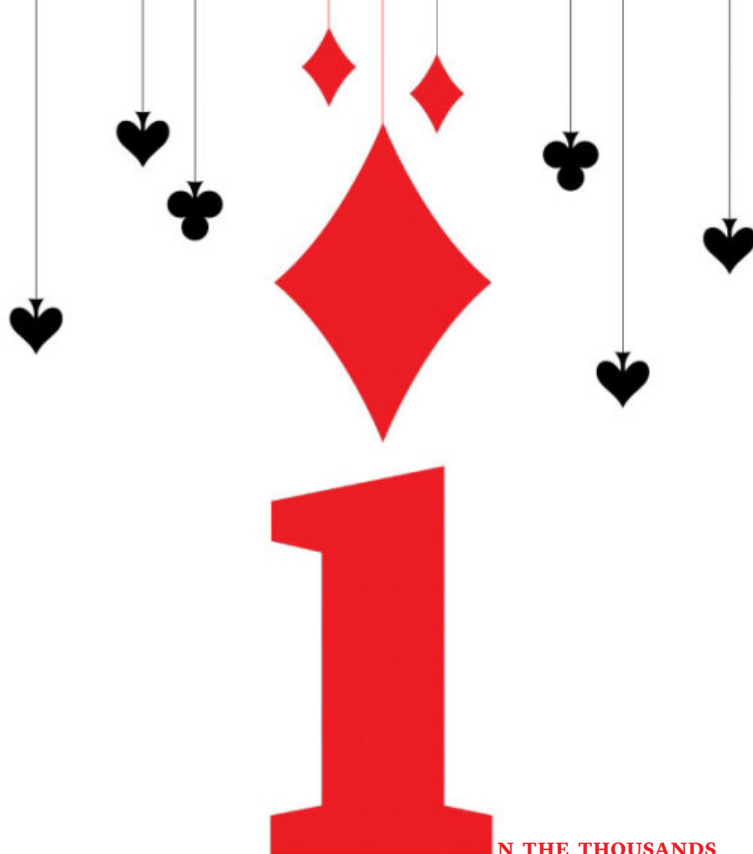


# TRICK *or* CHEAT

BRIDGE, A GENTEEL GAME OF BRAINS FAVORED BY MOGULS FROM BUFFETT TO ZUCKERBERG, HAS BEEN ROCKED BY SCANDAL, THREATS AND INTRIGUE AFTER SEVERAL TOP PLAYERS WERE CHALLENGED

*By* **JOHN WALTERS** ♣ *Illustrations by* **ZOHAR LAZAR**





**N THE THOUSANDS**

of hours Boye Brogeland has spent playing bridge, he had never before proffered such a bold declaration—not even an artificial two clubs bid. Seated at home in the picturesque harbor village of Flekkefjord, Norway, in late August, he gazed at his computer screen, at the words he had written and was about to post online: *“If you have a cheating pair on your team....”*

But before doing so, he alerted the authorities. His accusation, he knew, would reverberate North and South, East and West, across the global coordinates of high-stakes contract bridge. It could end the careers of the reigning European champions, Lotan Fisher and Ron Schwartz, the former known as “the wonder boy of Israeli bridge”; it would also likely mean a terminus to their six-figure incomes, their Bali-to-Biarritz jetsetting lifestyles.

Brogeland also knew that the men whose livelihoods he was about to kill had powerful and extremely wealthy friends, men whose very behavior at the square table betrayed malevolent intentions. “I phoned the Norwegian police,” says Brogeland, a professional bridge player who is ranked 64th by the World Bridge Federation (WBF). “They told me, ‘When you blow the whistle, do not be at your home address.’”



#### **THE SHERIFF AND THE ANONYMOUS ASTRONOMER**

**ON SEPTEMBER 26**, the Bermuda Bowl, a biennial international event that happens to be the most prestigious tournament in all of bridge, commenced in Chennai, India. Of the 22 nations that qualified to play in the fortnight-long championship, three have dropped out in the past month: Israel, which boasts the tandem of Fisher and Schwartz; Monaco, whose duo of Fulvio Fantoni and Claudio Nunes are the No. 1 and No. 2 ranked players in the world, respectively; and most recently, Germany.

The absence of Fisher-Schwartz and Fantoni-Nunes at the Bermuda Bowl is due to the punctilious investigative efforts of

## **“BRIDGE IS THE EASIEST GAME IN THE WORLD AT WHICH TO CHEAT.”**



Brogeland. In fact, all four men are facing lifetime bans from competitive bridge. He may be only the world’s 64th-ranked player, but there is no more formidable opponent in bridge than Brogeland (Germany withdrew after its top pair, in the aftermath of the investigations, pre-emptively confessed to cheating). “Boye is the sheriff who rode into town,” marvels Bob Hamman, a Texan who has won 10 Bermuda Bowls and is to contract bridge what Doyle Brunson is to Texas Hold ’Em. “He’s Judge Roy Bean. He’s the man of the year.”

Imagine, if you will, NFL fans, a crusader who took on the most successful teams in his chosen sport and who just happened to have facts on his side. Who conducted his investigation not by spending millions of dollars on private investigators, but rather via crowdsourcing YouTube videos and enlisting the help of willing volunteers from as far away as Australia, from legends of the game (such as Hamman) to an anonymous astronomer from the Netherlands.

Now imagine that none of this was undertaken for personal gain—was in fact initiated at both fiscal and professional expense—and that the provocateur, Brogeland, demanded that any Master Points he had “won” (his quotations) as an erstwhile teammate of Fisher and Schwartz be vacated. And that he continued unbowed after one of the men he accused, Fisher, posted these words on Facebook: “Jealousy made you sick. Get ready for a meeting with the devil.”

“My only motivation is to try to clean up the game and do the right thing,” says Brogeland, whose grandparents taught him to play bridge when he was 8 years old. “Don’t worry about the consequences. This is what my mother would do. This is what my father would do. I hope this is what my children would do.”

“Boye [has] made it his personal campaign to



clean up the game,” says Jeff Meckstroth, an American ranked eighth by the WBF who has won the Bermuda Bowl five times.

This is the story of a bridgegate that is altogether unlike the one involving a certain New Jersey governor and the town of Fort Lee (that is, except for the shared traits of skulduggery, whistleblowing and personal threats). This is the story of, as Brogeland puts it, “A rebellion staged by the bridge players themselves, via the Internet, to save the game.”



#### OLD DOGS WITH NASTY HABITS

“Now how do you wanna play? Honest?”

—Chico Marx, preparing to deal a hand of bridge in *Animal Crackers* (1935)

**IN 1925**, the railroad tycoon and Gatsby-esque sportsman Harold Stirling Vanderbilt was sailing aboard his yacht from Los Angeles to New York via the Panama Canal. During the voyage, Vanderbilt decided to spruce up the game of auction bridge, which itself had evolved from the English game of whist. “Vanderbilt came up with a system in which a duo could earn extra points based on how ambitious their bid was,” says Dave Anderson, a retired newspaperman and avid bridge player who lives in Florida. “He invented contract bridge.”

It took only 10 years, an interim during which bridge tour-

naments blossomed into international events that were often front-page news in *The New York Times*, before the Marx Brothers lampooned the game’s primary flaw. “Bridge is the easiest game in the world at which to cheat,” says Kit Woolsey, a highly accomplished bridge and backgammon player who has written extensively on both games, “because you’ve got a partner and you can signal.”

If you are not familiar with the basic concepts of bridge, fear not: You are not about to learn them here. “It takes at least 12 hours of study before you should even sit down at a table,” says Chris Willenken, a New York-based pro who is currently providing beginner’s lessons at a hedge fund. “There are quadrillions of possible hands that you can hold.”

**THE AMERICAN** Contract Bridge League (ACBL), the governing body of North American bridge, counts 168,000 members, and yes, an overwhelming majority of them are either your grandmother or have AOL email accounts. “Our typical new enrollee is a 65-year-old woman, and the

average age of our members is 71,” sighs ACBL spokeswoman Darbi Padbury. And yet the game continues to attract some of the world’s most innovative (and wealthy) men. Warren Buffett and Bill Gates not only play but regularly compete as partners. No Berkshire Hathaway shareholders meeting is complete without a daily 1 p.m. bridge game that includes an appearance by Hamman, which is akin to Dan Marino showing up at your touch football game. Just last month, Facebook, a company whose founder’s parents are avid players, applied with the ACBL to have a registered bridge game on its Menlo Park, California, campus.

Jimmy Cayne, former chief executive of Bear Stearns, is obsessed with bridge. As the investment bank was sliding into insolvency in 2007 and 2008, Cayne, now 81, was incommunicado on more than one occasion—sealed off from the rest of civilization at a bridge tournament. “I’ve known Jimmy Cayne since woolly mammoths roamed the plains,” says Hamman. “He’s an old dog, and old dogs can acquire some bad habits.” And even worse teammates.



#### THE DREADED GERMAN DOCTORS

**TO OVERSIMPLIFY** the game of bridge: Two partners sit across a table from each other (North and South) and attempt to win more tricks (hands) than their opponents (East and West). The difficulty lies in not knowing what cards your partner is holding or even what his or her long suit (the most cards of one suit among the 13 cards he or she has been dealt) might be. If, on the other hand (pun intended), a partner were to be armed with that knowledge...

“That would be akin to knowing what the opposing team’s third base coach was signaling,” says Willenken, an irrepressibly logical creature who gives out his age as “39 and seven-eighths.”

It was Mae West who famously compared good bridge to good sex: “You better have a good partner, or you better have a good hand.” Or you can cheat. At the 1965 Bermuda Bowl in Buenos Aires, Argentina, the British duo of Terence Reese and Boris Schapiro were disqualified after a two-time former champion, B. Jay Becker, observed that they held their cards with a certain

**MAE WEST  
COMPARED  
BRIDGE TO  
GOOD SEX:  
“YOU BETTER  
HAVE A GOOD  
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HAVE A GOOD  
HAND.”**



number of fingers resting on the back during bidding to indicate the length of their heart suit. To discourage this and other visual signaling, tables at major tournaments are now fitted with a screen that runs diagonally across so that partners can no longer see each other.

Hence, at the 1975 Bermuda Bowl, a pair of Italians communicated by playing footsie under the table. In the aftermath of their mischief, boards now run beneath the table. Thus, a pattern emerges: Each transgression obliges a new means of deterrent, which in turn inspires a more creative manner of cheating. The result, at the elite levels of bridge, is the difference between an ordinary conversation and Clarice Starling interviewing Hannibal Lecter. “I truly believe most bridge players are good guys, full of integrity,” says Meckstroth, who has played with the same bridge partner for 41 years. “But there is a minute percentage at the highest levels that compel us to be vigilant.”

Two years ago, at the d’Orsi World Senior Bowl in Bali, Michael Elinescu and Entschö Wladow, both of Germany, were found guilty of using a system of coughs to communicate to each other their hands. Both men, who have been banned from playing together for life, are physicians. “Historically speaking, the phrase *German doctors* has implied far worse [deeds],” sniffed the *Guardian*, “but still, it was the world championship finals.”

Hamman, who has won more major

tournaments than any American and who has probably lost just as many to cheaters, is somehow able to remain sanguine. “It’s human nature; it’s the way we’re engineered,” he says. “I played against the famed Italian Blue team. They won 17 of 19 world championships at one point, and the fact is they cheated. Everyone knows that. There’s problems in everything you do, and it’s called life.”



### CRACKING THE CHEAT CODE

**MID-AUGUST.** Chicago. The prestigious Spingold championship, which draws an international field of elite players, is being staged at the Hilton. During a quarterfinal match, Brogeland and his partner, Espen Lindqvist, lose by one point to the Israeli duo of Fisher and Schwartz. “I was gutted,” says Brogeland. “Bridge is such a logical game, and they were making such nonlogical actions. Nonlogical action after nonlogical action, and it was a success every time.

“Afterward, I met Jimmy Cayne at the bar,” Brogeland says. “Jimmy had played really well. I told him, ‘You need to get rid of these guys.’”

If something in that quote does not add up for you, here is the final reveal about elite-level bridge: While each game features two-player pairs, a registered team has three pairs, or six players overall. At the world-class levels, that sextet is usually composed of five handsomely rewarded players and one sponsor, a very wealthy bridge aficionado who plays the minimum number of hands in order to be considered part of the team.

“The only way possible to have professional players is to have these sponsors playing,” concedes Brogeland. “They don’t want to watch; they want to play. And there wouldn’t be enough interest in bridge otherwise to have professionals.”

“Yes, bridge is played by affluent people,” says Padbury of ADBL. “And there’s lots of money involved. But we’re not giving it out [as prize money].”

Hamman, who was part of the very first sponsored American team, the legendary Dallas Aces, says top players can earn up to \$500,000. “You have a sponsor who has accumulated quite a bit of money, and he’s a pretty good bridge player,” says Hamman. “He wants the team he wants, and he can afford to procure it.”

To the outsider, it sounds like an NBA owner suiting up, playing one quarter with the Spurs, and then claiming he and Tim Duncan won the NBA title together. Bridge pros are not so, well, cynical. “They get to call themselves champions,” says Woolsey, “and why shouldn’t they?”

In theory, the dynamic is above reproach. In practice,



**HANDS UP:** Fellow players call Brogeland “the sheriff of bridge,” investigating suspicious activity that officials don’t see or choose to ignore.

however, it encourages cheating. “There is more of an incentive than you realize,” says Padbury. And so Brogeland, who had spent the previous two years as a teammate of Fisher and Schwartz, had seen them jump to a more lucrative offer to play for Cayne. And then he’d lost to them under what he considered bizarre circumstances. In fact, Brogeland and Lindqvist had actually won their match by one point. But bridge has an appeals process, and after the appeal Fisher and Schwartz were awarded a one-point victory.

When Brogeland had been teammates with Fisher and Schwartz back in 2014, he had once quizzed them about a dubious move that proved advantageous during a match. “Why did you lead a club?” he had asked Schwartz, who replied, “I have to lead my partner’s suit.”

There was no way, at that point in the hand, for Schwartz to have known what Fisher’s long suit would have been. So how did he know he had to go with clubs?

Brogeland returned home to Flekkefjord, where he and his wife, Tonje, undertook the tedious yet engrossing task of watching Fisher and Schwartz win the previous year’s European championships via YouTube. (The ACBL, which oversaw the Spingold tournament, does not post its videos online.) “My average hours of sleep for an entire week was three hours,” he says. “My adrenaline was so pumped up.”

Thanks to a system called VuGraphs, bridge

fans and watchdogs are able to see a chart of the complete hands all four players are holding during any one hand (after the match has been played). If an experienced student of the game matches those charts to the videos of the hands, he or she might eventually find a recurring signal being passed between partners, one that correlates to a specific play. “Bridge is a relentlessly logical game,” says Willenken, one of a coterie of top-level players whom Brogeland enlisted to help him study Fisher and Schwartz’s play. “There’s a three-step process to cracking the code: Look at actions that are illogical find a disproportionate amount of winning hands preceded by illogical actions and analyze what is going on in those hands.”

After he’d publicly accused Fisher and Schwartz of cheating on a site called BridgeWinners.com in the dying days of August, Brogeland received a threatening letter from their attorney. It accused him of defamation and read, in part, “My clients will agree to compensation in the sum of one million dollars...a small part of the damages and mental anguish that has been caused.”

It was then that a Swedish player whose help Brogeland had enlisted, Per-Ola Cullin, had a breakthrough. Cullin, rated 67th by the WBF, noticed that the board on which players passed their bids—a trap door at the bottom of the diagonal screen opens enough for players to perform integral rites of play—was placed at certain spots on the table to indicate preferences for an opening lead (e.g., if Fisher or Schwartz wanted his partner to lead with diamonds, the board was placed on the middle of the table).

“Per-Ola is the one who cracked the code,” says Brogeland. “This has been a rebellion staged by the bridge players themselves who wish to clean up the game.”



By September 5, Israel had withdrawn from the Bermuda Bowl, even though the WBF had yet to officially sanction Fisher and Schwartz (and still has not). (Fantoni and Nunes have said little publicly about their predicament. On what claims to be Fantoni’s official website, this message was posted in mid-September: “We will not comment on allegations at this time, reserving our rights to reply in a more appropriate setting.”)

# BROGELAND RECEIVED THREATS: “TELL YOUR FRIEND WE HAVE A WHEELCHAIR THAT WILL FIT HIM.”



On September 6, Maaijke Mevius, a 43-year-old married mother of two who lives in Groningen, Holland, decided to send an email to Brogeland. Mevius, a recreational bridge player, had been keeping track of the Fisher-Schwartz scandal, and had noted that in the 2014 European Championship finals, their opponents had been Fulvio Fantoni and Claudio Nunes.

The next day, Cayne, who has not been accused of any wrongdoing, posted this on BridgeWinners.com: “I make this statement with heavy heart. In the last few weeks I have been made aware of charges leveled against Lotan Fisher and Ron Schwartz.... The most

**UNDERHANDED:** After reviewing hours of tape, Mevius believes she cracked the code being used by Nunes, left, and his partner, Fantoni, right.

recent published hands lead me to conclude that Fisher-Schwartz may not continue to play on my team unless they are cleared of all charges which might be filed against them. I am completely on board forfeiting my title, masterpoints, and seeding points for the 2015 Spingold if the ACBL will allow me to do so.”

Mevius wasn’t done. If Fisher and Schwartz had used signals, she wondered, why not peruse the same videos and see if Fantoni and Nunes had also done so? “I am a researcher by profession,” says Mevius, a physicist whose field is astronomy. “I’m interested in how the world works. Also, I’m a problem-solver. Playing bridge is all about problem-solving.”

After analyzing hours of videos and keeping meticulous notes, Mevius discovered a pattern. She told her husband, who advised her to send an email to Brogeland, whom she has never met.

"I think this may be a code," Mevius wrote, "but I don't have the expertise to judge it. The vertical card is either an ace, a king, or a queen."

Within minutes Brogeland replied, "Wow, you may have broken the code."

Elite-level bridge has three top-tier tournaments, none of which are held annually: the Bermuda Bowl (odd-numbered years), the Olympiad (quadrennially in Olympic years) and the World Open Pairs (quadrennially in non-Olympic even-numbered years). To win all three is to capture the "triple crown of bridge," and only 10 men have ever done so. Two of them are Hamman and Meckstroth, who completed the trifecta as teammates in 1988.

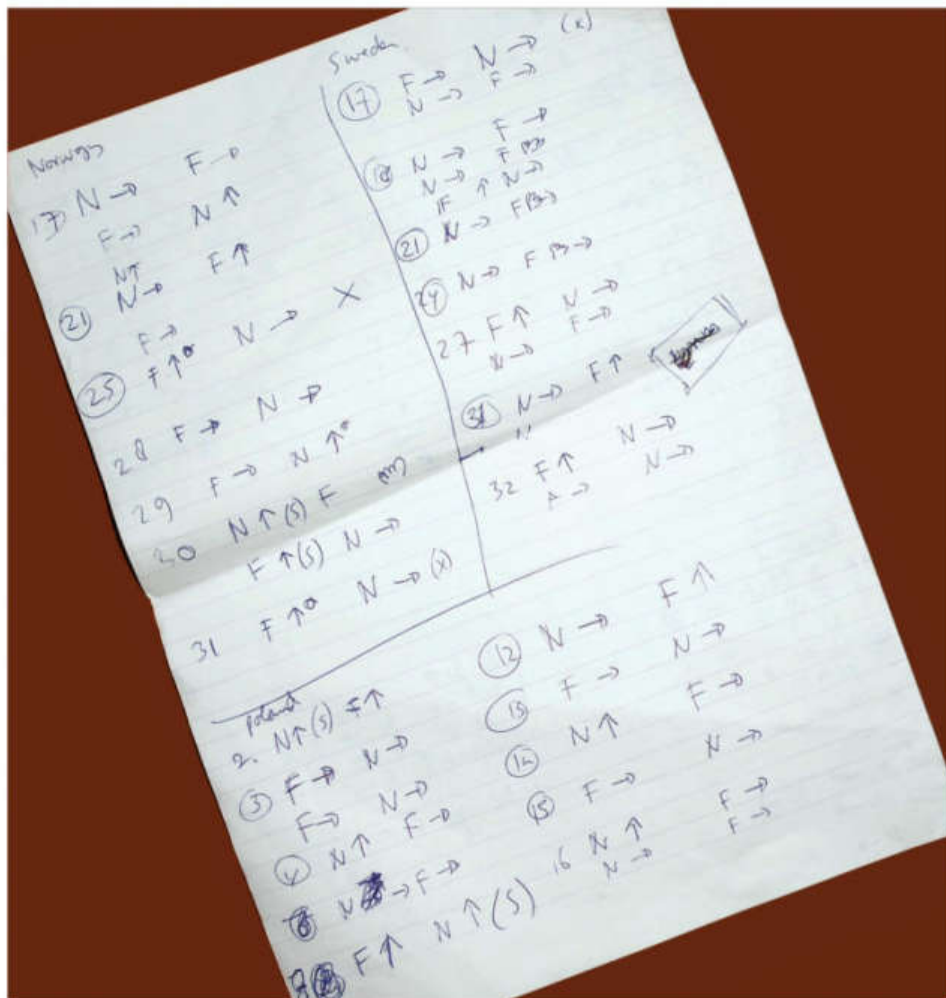
Only two men have captured the triple crown in the past 25 years: Fantoni and Nunes, a fact that rankles not a few veterans. "Fantoni was obviously a phony in my opinion," says Meckstroth. And Nunes? "I just thought he was a prick," says Meckstroth.

After Brogeland got that email from Mevius, he forwarded the information to top players such as Meckstroth, Willenken, Woolsey and others for verification. Eventually, Ishmael Del'Monte, an Australian player, provided it. "Ishmael wrote me back 12 hours later and verified it," beams Brogeland.

Meckstroth was driving from the ACBL headquarters in Horn Lake, Mississippi, to his home in Clearwater, Florida, on the morning of September 10, when he received a phone call from an excited Del'Monte. "Ish had been up 36 hours straight looking at video of Fantoni and Nunes," Meckstroth says. "I told him to get some sleep, that I would do the job of communicating it." Meckstroth phoned Woolsey, who by the next morning posted a story on BridgeWinners.com, breaking the news to the world that the two most successful bridge players of the past quarter-century are cheats. Within a day or so, the post had garnered 1,173 comments. "The evidence that Fantoni and Nunes threw their cards down either horizontally or vertically corresponding to what types of cards they held is indisputable," says Willenken. "The only thing that's in question is an interpretation of what that means. But the odds of it not being a system of cheating are infinitesimal."

Meanwhile, Brogeland received a veiled threat. A mutual acquaintance passed on a message, reportedly from Fantoni and Nunes: "Tell your friend Boye that we have a wheelchair that will fit him."

"This one's the biggest cheating scandal in the history of bridge," says Woolsey. "Fantoni and Nunes were the top players;



**TRUMPED:** Mevius, a scientist by training, took exhaustive notes on a suspicious game that led her to believe some players were cheating.

they were winning the most championships."

Dror Arad-Ayalon, a Tel Aviv-based lawyer representing Fisher and Schwartz, dispatched a letter to Brogeland accusing him of "offensive defamation which is not supported by one iota of truth." On September 17, Arad-Ayalon told CNBC that once an Israel Bridge Federation's investigation into the charges against his clients was resolved, the players intended to sue Brogeland for defamation.

In the wake of Brogeland's exposure of Israel and Monaco's top teams, Germany's top pair, Alexander Smirnov and Josef Piekarek, have confessed to cheating. That makes three of Europe's six qualifying teams out of the Bermuda Bowl. "People have been telling me, 'If you can just take another nation or two down, then Norway can go,'" says Brogeland, who has accrued phone bills in the thousands of dollars the past month. "That's never been my motivation. I love bridge."

In all the lost hours of remaining in seclusion and of painstakingly poring over footage of past bridge matches, Brogeland did find the time to send a reply to Fisher's and Schwartz's attorneys. He wrote, "Please sue me." ■



TASHA STURM/CABRILLO COLLEGE/ASIM MICROWORLD



NEW WORLD



ALCOHOL

HEALTH

ENVIRONMENT

AI

WILDLIFE

SPACE

GOOD SCIENCE

## YOUR AURA HAS A FINGERPRINT

All humans have a unique microbial cloud around their body that can leave clues about where they've been


+  
**AIRBORNE:** How far a microbe travels depends on the "viscosity of the air," says Meadow. "For something that tiny, air is more like water... they can just float around the room indefinitely."

**THE SURFACE** of your body is a living, breathing habitat, teeming with millions of microbes. It's part of what's called the human microbiome, which, it turns out, extends into the air around you. It hovers in a cloud enveloping your body and leaves bits of itself on surfaces wherever you go. In short, you have an aura, a personal cloud of dead skin cells, fungus and many, many microbes. "You know the dirty kid from *Peanuts*? Pig-Pen? It turns out we all look like that," says data scientist James Meadow.

In a study he undertook while a postgrad at the University of Oregon, Meadow and research partners sampled the air surrounding 11 different people in a sanitized room and sequenced the microbes emanating from them. They determined that an occupied room is microbially distinct from an unoccupied one. And after three people spent four hours in a room together, giving off their microbes, Meadow's team was able to distinguish each person based

just on the bacteria in the surrounding air.

One potential real-world application for microbial cloud research is forensics. While it may be "years down the road," Meadow says, our ability to distinguish between people based on their airborne microbial signatures will likely get better and better. "Just like the detectives today are dusting a room to look for fingerprints, maybe [in the future] they'll take a big vacuum and see what microbes are there," says Dr. Martin Blaser, the director of New York University's Human Microbiome Program. But Blaser wonders what the future implications of concrete microbial signatures might be for privacy. "I think it's just like people looking at your electronic data."

While microbial cloud research is in its earliest stages, Meadow says he is "100 percent convinced" that "this, along with the genome sequencing revolution, will give us better health." But, he says, "we need to be very careful about who gets that information about all of us." 

BY  
**ZOË SCHLANGER**  
 @zoeschlanger



## DISRUPTIVE

# BARBIE WANTS TO KILL YOUR iPhone

## Friendly artificial intelligence is making lamps, dolls and even toilets smart

**ODDLY ENOUGH**, *Pee-wee's Playhouse* from the 1980s was a prescient, if somewhat bonkers, vision of the technology that will eventually make smartphones passé.

Give it about five years and your home could be like Pee-wee's bachelor pad, where everything becomes a conversant, intelligent and connected friend—the chairs, floor, clock, globe, toys and some sort of quirky, ambulatory robot.

The artificial intelligence technology to make this happen is emerging faster than you might think, coming from big companies such as Amazon and Google, the inventors of Siri and even the maker of Barbie dolls. The work is all pointed at a kind of fantasy that has floated around for ages, where our stuff comes alive and loves us. Pick your variant: the car in *Knight Rider*, the operating system in *Her*, the tea set in Disney's *Beauty and the Beast*. This goes far beyond the old saw about "smart homes" embedded with chips. This will make the things around us into some cross between a butler and a border collie.

"Intelligence becomes a utility," Dag Kittlaus, founder of Viv Labs and a Siri co-creator, told *Wired*. "Boy, wouldn't it be nice if you could talk to everything, and it knew you, and it knew everything about you, and it could do everything?"

The technology is aimed at overtaking the smartphone. If responsive, connected technology is all around you, you won't need to carry it in your pocket. And if anything you might need—a takeout order, music, the status of a friend—can be conjured by turning to, say, a lighting fixture

and verbally asking for it, you won't need to rely on a bunch of discreet apps that you have to poke with your finger. Once this butler-style AI hits the masses, it will replace smartphones the way Ernest Hemingway wrote that one of his characters went bankrupt: gradually, and then suddenly.

You can already buy early editions of the technology. The current devices are a step up the evolutionary ladder from phone-based Siri and Google Now. This year, Amazon came out with a product called Echo, a Wi-Fi-connected cylinder loaded with Amazon's Siri-esque software, called Alexa. Put it in your house and it constantly listens for requests. While cooking for friends due to arrive any minute, your hands covered in olive oil, you can shout, "Alexa, I forgot to get the goddamn wine! Order a couple of my favorite cabs to be delivered." And it will do that. No phone required.

A similar product is being offered by a start-up called Cubic—except instead of a cylinder, Cubic is, you know, a cube.

If you want a more adorable take on the technology, check out Jibo. It's kind of like Echo or Cubic, except it has an eye-like thing that can turn to track your face and make cute expressions. It's so manipulatively cute, it seems as if it just popped out of a Pixar movie. Jibo just got \$11 million in funding. Also, this Christmas, you could buy your kid a Hello Barbie, which comes loaded with AI built by former Pixar people. Hello Barbie will get to know your kid and become her friend. Can you imagine, though, the opportunities for hackers? Barbie might suddenly say to little girls,

BY  
**KEVIN MANEY**  
@kmaney

**A DOLL'S LIFE:** The new Hello Barbie, made by former Pixar folks, comes with AI that will help the doll get to know its owner. It's only a matter of time before Barbie can become much more like a friend than a hunk of plastic.



“OK, now go get your mommy’s credit card...”

Google, Microsoft and Facebook are all funding labs that are working on friendly and helpful AI technology. In September, Chinese Internet giant Baidu got into the game. Well-funded Viv Labs is stocked with many of the same people who developed Siri and sold it to Apple.

All of the companies are chasing the concept of AI with a personality—friendly, familiar, helpful, intuitive. “The end-user should feel like he is interacting with a real person and not a device,” Cubic CEO Yuriy Burov told *Fast Company*.

This direction especially makes sense for a Google or Facebook because they already know so much about you. Studies have shown that software can analyze your Facebook activity and understand your personality. If someone uses Google’s panoply of products, Google will have a deep knowledge of that person’s daily life. Add a layer of sophisticated AI, great voice-recognition technology and software that takes advantage of research into the science of emotions, and it’s not a far leap for either of these companies to build technology that understands you and is aware of your circumstances, needs and desires.

Some of the companies are already signaling their longer-range goal of embedding the technology everywhere. Amazon launched Alexa Voice Service, which lets developers outside of Amazon add Alexa to any connected device. Viv Labs is deploying a similar licensing strategy to

get its AI into lots of stuff. The gadget makers like Cubic and Jibo will do the same if they’re savvy. That’s how friendly AI is going to end up in smart TVs, smart cars, smart toilets.

Every dominant technology eventually meets its match. Mainframes gave way to PCs; PCs gave way to smartphones; and while it may take a long time, smartphones will take a back seat to something else someday—probably this. Of course, as with any new technology, there are concerns, privacy and security chief among them. There will be fits and starts and no doubt some disasters along the way. But none of

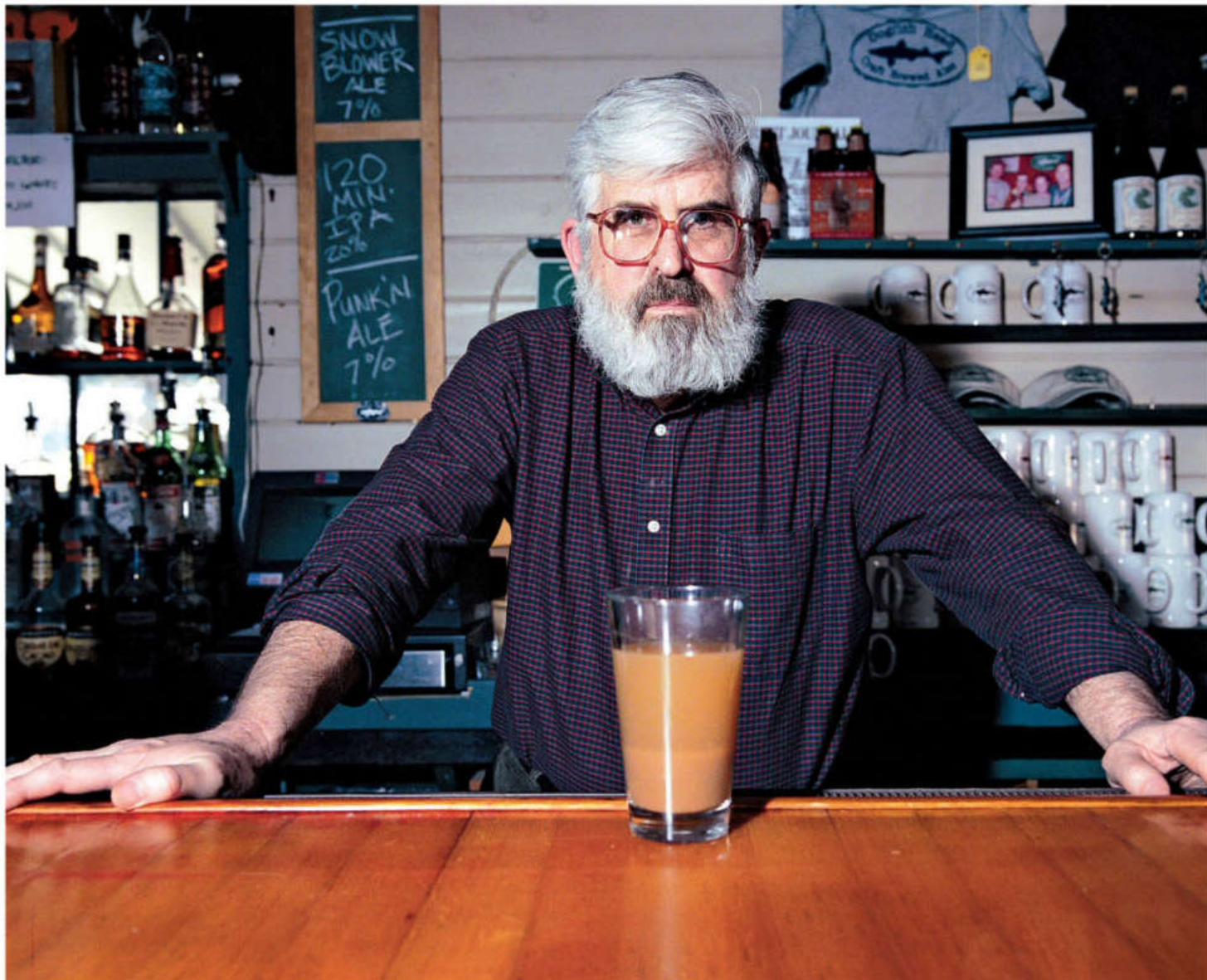
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**BARBIE MIGHT SUDDENLY SAY TO LITTLE GIRLS, “OK, NOW GO GET YOUR MOMMY’S CREDIT CARD...”**

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that is going to stop friendly AI from coming.

Anyway, if movies and TV shows are any indication, society has been wanting this technology for a long time, though maybe with a few exceptions. You should know that Cubic claims its AI can tell jokes. The world may not really be a better place if your smart toilet knows you and can fire off Don Rickles one-liners. “Oh my God, what did you eat last night? A hockey puck?” ■



## GOOD FOR WHAT ALES YOU

In the old days, beer was used to banish lice and oust tapeworms. Today, it could fight cancer

**WHILE TODAY** beer is mostly thought of as a fun and savory drink that makes us social, talkative and happy, it might also be much more than that. It could be a key to unlocking the secrets of ancient medicinal remedies that humans creat-

ed over millennia to fight diseases that plagued them from the beginning of time.

It's not a moon shot. It's not even that far-fetched. In the days before pills and ointments filled our medicine chests, the sick were treated

BY  
**LINA ZELDOVICH**  
[@LinaZeldovich](#)



**+**  
**HEALING HOOCH:**  
Patrick McGovern,  
a professor of  
archaeological  
chemistry, is lead-  
ing a burgeoning  
field of research  
that tries to  
find pharmaceu-  
ticals in ancient  
beer recipes.

with brews and herbal cocktails—often of the alcoholic variety. In fact, before the advent of modern medicine, alcohol was the universal drug, Patrick McGovern of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology, wrote in a 2010 study looking at the anti-cancer potential of fermented beverages.

The core health benefits of alcohol are obvious, he points out: It relieves pain, stops infection and kills bacteria and parasites in contaminated water. It also has nutritional advantages. During fermentation, yeast and bacteria break some of the ingredients into easily digestible nutrients that the body can absorb quickly, says Brian Hayden, an anthropologist at Simon Fraser University in Canada.

But over the years, beer also was used as a medium by which many other medicines were delivered. Cultures all over the world crafted their own versions of beer. Egyptians used barley, Incas brewed a corn beer they called chicha, and Chinese made rice “wine” (which should probably be called “rice beer” because rice is a grain and wine is technically a drink of fermented fruit). As brewers perfected the process, they realized that alcohol had another advantage: It could dissolve many compounds that water couldn’t. They began to experiment with potentially beneficial additives in their concoctions, from leaves and roots to berries, nectar, honey and even tree sap and resins.

Ancient texts list plenty of therapeutic cocktails. McGovern wrote that of the thousand prescriptions found in ancient Egyptian medical papyri, a large number included wine and beer “as dispensing agents,” with “numerous herbs (bryony, coriander, cumin, mandrake, dill, aloe, wormwood, etc.)” added. Mixed, soaked and steeped in beers and wines, the plants were administered for specific maladies. Traditional Chinese medicine also features an extensive list of medicinal plants delivered via fermented beverages. For example, wormwood and mugwort, plants belonging to the *Artemisia* genus, were often added to rice brews.

“Whenever we looked in different parts of the world, fermented beverages are the ones used to administer various medicinal agents,” McGovern says. In addition to its dissolving properties, alcohol made these mixtures more palatable, just like “a spoonful of sugar helps the medicine go down,” says Max Nelson, a professor at the University of Windsor.

In his book *The Barbarian’s Beverage: A History of Beer in Ancient Europe*, Nelson discusses several ancient brews found in medical texts. Antyllus, a Greek surgeon who lived in Rome in



the second century, wrote about mixing brews with unripe sesame plant fruit or crushed earthworms and palm dates for “good and plentiful breast milk in women.” Later, Greek physician Philumenus recommended “beer with crushed garlic as an emetic for poisonous asp bites.” Marcellus Empiricus, a Latin medical writer from Gaul, suggested using beer “to soak an herbal suppository to expel intestinal worms,” and also noted that beer works well “against coughs when drunk warm with salt.” Greek physician and medical writer Aëtius of Amida suggested applying beer with mustard on arrow wounds.

Later on, medieval European medics came up with their own therapeutic libations: Hot ale was recommended for chest pains, “old ale” for lung

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## BEFORE THE ADVENT OF MODERN MEDICINE, ALCOHOL WAS THE UNIVERSAL DRUG.

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disease and “new ale” for sleep problems. Welsh ale, mixed with various herbs and other fixings, was advised for several ailments. One recipe suggested rubbing “plain ale” into the scalp to get rid of lice. The Nordic cultures made grog, a complex hybrid beverage in which cereals and other ingredients were brewed together—wheat, rye or barley fermented with cranberries, lingonberries and honey. The concoction was then spiced up with herbs—bog myrtle, yarrow, juniper and birch tree resin—that likely had medicinal qualities, McGovern says.

Whether any of these things actually worked is still up for debate. Many of history’s remedies have been lost due to “cultural collapse and destruction by natural and man-made calamities,” says McGovern. But modern research into primordial medical remedies has been incredibly fruitful. For example, Egyptian and Greek texts mention willow tree bark, from which acetylsalicylic—more



commonly known as aspirin—was eventually derived. Locals of what is now Peru used the bark of some South American trees to treat malarial fever. Later, the bark's medicinal compound was isolated into quinine, which remained a staple for malaria care for over a century.

Similarly, Native Americans steeped Canadian yew needles into a tea used as an arthritis treatment; researchers later discovered a compound in the tree's bark that eventually led to the cancer-fighting drug Taxol. In addition, in the past decade several plant-based drugs have been introduced into modern medicine. To name just a few: Capsaicin, from *Capsicum annuum* (a variety of pepper), is now used as a pain reliever, and galantamine, from *Galanthus nivalis* (the pretty snowdrop flower that blooms in many spring gardens), is being used to treat Alzheimer's disease.

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## MODERN RESEARCH INTO PRIMORDIAL MEDICAL REMEDIES HAS BEEN INCREDIBLY FRUITFUL.

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Of course, not all early pharmaceuticals possessed the curative effects they were believed to have. "Superstitions, misguided religious injunctions, or unfounded psychological notions might creep into a tradition over time," McGovern wrote—such as "submerging a rhinoceros horn or bull's penis in a modern Chinese wine to convey its strength or other sympathetic attribute." But there's been enough gold flakes in the stream of historical remedies that McGovern, working with Caryn Lerman,

+ **ANCIENT ALES:** Cultures around the world have been making beer for thousands of years, from barley-based brews in the Middle East, left, to chicha, the fermented corn beer made by the Incas, right.


deputy director of the University of Pennsylvania's Abramson Cancer Center, decided to launch a project they dubbed Archeological Oncology: Digging for Drug Discovery. The goal is to investigate whether the remnants of antediluvian leftovers of beer and other bevvies gathered from the clay and metal jars buried in tombs next to kings, pharaohs and emperors possessed any anti-cancerous properties.

As part of that project, McGovern investigated the medicinal properties of drops of liquid found in a bronze Chinese pot from the Shang dynasty, circa 1050 B.C., and a yellowish residue scraped off a clay jar from the tomb of Egyptian king Scorpion I, circa 3150 B.C. After zeroing in on a few promising compounds, cell line researchers tested their anti-cancer efficacy by adding them to various malignant cells in test tubes. The results were encouraging. Several ingredients showed anti-cancerous activity against certain types of lung and colon cancer. For example, isoscopolein (from the sage and thyme added to Egyptian beers) stimulated a protein that protects against DNA mutations and acts as a tumor suppressor. Artemisinin (from wormwood and mugwort in Chinese rice wine) and its synthetic derivative, artesunate, were very promising in inhibiting the growth of lung cancer cells.

Ancient beers may hold keys to promising therapeutics, but modern brews are also filled to the brim with potential. Chemists at the University of Washington, for example, are investigating humulones, which are substances derived from hops, in hopes that they may lead to new meds for treating diabetes and some forms of cancer. Other studies found that in addition to its pharmaceutical promises, beer offers a slew of preventive medicinal benefits. It lowers the risk of cardiovascular disease and kidney stones and even improves cognitive performance in the elderly, says Charles Bamforth, a professor of malting and brewing sciences at the University of California, Davis. Beer also contains vitamin B, an antioxidant compound named ferulic acid and a lot of grain-derived fiber, which Bamforth posits in his study may work as a prebiotic—a food source for the beneficial bacterial colonies that live in the human gut.

Some studies suggest that beer may help fend off osteoporosis

because it's high in silica, a mineral important for maintaining bone density and promoting connective tissue formation. Naturally present in the grain, silica is released during the brewing process, says Jonathan Powell at MRC Human Nutrition Research in Cambridge, England, and unlike pill supplements it is fully absorbed by the body because of its liquid form. When you look at its overall nutritional value, beer is superior to wine, says Bamforth, who is also quick to dispel the "beer gut" myth. It's not the "empty calories" that give beer drinkers their round bellies but rather their overall lifestyle and the type of food typically served with the ales and stouts—like burgers, for example. "To pin that blame on beer alone is simply unfair," Bamforth says.

So as you raise your frothy mugs this Oktoberfest, take notice—your pints will be brimming with minerals, nutrients, vitamins, antioxidants and loads of fiber. You just need to consume this healthy fusion in moderation, beer scientists caution. "Drinking beer shouldn't be an end in itself," Bamforth says. "It should be a pleasurable, sensual experience." 





## BEASTS UNDER THE BIG TOP

# Government bans on circus animals are leaving rare creatures such as lions and monkeys without a home

**SMITH WAS** destined for execution. The lion had already been castrated, declawed, separated from his mate, Amazonas, and caged with another male's offspring. He was agitated. Then one day in August 2014, during a circus performance in Peru, as he sat perched on a pedestal above a spectator's head, which was lowered, exposing the back of her neck, the trainer commanded Smith to jump, and his natural instinct prevailed. He pounced on the audience member, grabbing her in his jaws and dragging her around the ring until a handler beat Smith into submission and forced him back into a cage.

The spectator survived, but the incident triggered an outcry for the lion to be euthanized, says Tim Phillips, vice president of Animal Defenders International. His group countered by pointing out how it was people, not Smith, who had acted recklessly and violated a law banning wild animals in circuses. ADI successfully pleaded with Peruvian authorities for Smith's life to be spared and, with law enforcement's help, the group returned a few days later to seize the lion from Circo de Monaco. "The world would be appalled if a lion is effectively murdered for what comes naturally when it was human beings and the circus being completely irresponsible and stupid," Phillips says.

In addition to Smith, 32 lions and about 60 other animals have been recovered from circuses in Peru and Colombia over the past year—

following bans on the use of animals in circuses in those countries—as part of ADI's Operation Spirit of Freedom. In some cases, the organization and the Peruvian government worked together to accept and relocate recovered animals, while other times they had to free the animals from circuses that refused to let them go. The rescue portion of the nearly \$1.7 million operation was completed this July.

But freedom isn't enough. These animals need an adequate place to spend the rest of their lives, and that's not "in the wild." Animal activists can expect to encounter this challenge more often as governments continue to crack down on the use of animals in circuses; 40 nations have now outlawed this practice to some degree. (In the U.S., circuses are allowed to use wild animals in acts, though the Animal Welfare Act of 1966 provides some minimum standards for the care of animals in traveling exhibits.) The stakes are high: Without a rescue group such as ADI assisting with logistics, these animals would likely be euthanized or put in zoos possibly without the infrastructure to accommodate them, or bans would simply go unenforced by overwhelmed authorities.

Husband-and-wife team Phillips and Jan Creamer founded ADI in 1990. Creamer's passion for animal rights began in the 1970s when she saw a leaflet about researchers forcing beagles to smoke cigarettes in lab experiments. She later became chief executive of the National

BY  
**SENA CHRISTIAN**  
[@SenaCChristian](#)





**HOMEWARD BOUND:** Rey and Simba are among 33 lions that suffered in a South American circus before being rescued by Animal Defenders International as part of its Spirit of Freedom initiative.

Anti-Vivisection Society, which combats the use of animals in product testing and scientific research. Creamer has filmed the mistreatment of animals in entertainment, circuses, labs and slaughterhouses. As for Phillips, after seeing the 1981 documentary *The Animals Film*, he promptly quit his banking job, became a vegetarian, bought a camera and started documenting abuse.

About a decade ago, they arranged an undercover team to infiltrate circuses throughout South America. Their clandestine footage revealed appalling instances of animals beaten and shocked with stun guns, chained up, malnourished, living in deplorable conditions and with missing eyes or smashed-in teeth. The work eventually led to Bolivia banning wild and domestic animals in circuses in 2009. But not all complied, and Operation Lion Ark commenced. ADI teams tracked down illegal traveling circuses

## A FEMALE MOUNTAIN LION WAS CONFISCATED AFTER THE PERSON HOLDING HER AS A PET BEAT HER UNCONSCIOUS WITH A BASEBALL BAT.

across Bolivia, rescued 29 lions (as well as other animals) and airlifted 25 of them to the Wild Animal Sanctuary near Denver.

The animals at the 720-acre sanctuary—the largest in the U.S.—are representative of the animals in such refuges across the world. Most of the roughly 400 large animals here came from people keeping them illegally as pets or in abusive situations. Two black bears were raised by a taxidermist to be killed, mounted and sold. One female mountain lion was confiscated after the person holding her as a pet beat her uncon-



scious with a baseball bat when the lion played too rough. Two wolves were raised by a couple who later divorced. The husband, to spite his ex-wife, hired someone to kill the wolves. But the shooter called the sanctuary instead.

Captive-born carnivores have a “very warped view of life,” says Wild Animal Sanctuary Executive Director Pat Craig. “Most don’t even know how to function in a family setting, or have the muscles or coordination to run or play in a large space.” So once an animal is rescued, it will likely need to undergo significant rehabilitation—which can happen only in sanctuaries with enough money to build enclosures where animals have space to roam, and the trained personnel to work on muscle and motor skill development, address medical problems like poor diets and missing teeth, and teach the animals to use their natural instinct.

Once Operation Lion Ark animals were placed, it was time to move on to the next country: Peru, which passed its ban in 2011. Operation Spirit of Freedom began in early 2014, when ADI and Peruvian authorities went about finding circuses and roadside zoos. “When you consider Peru is the size of Texas and California combined and is split by the Andes, you kind of get an impression of the sheer scale of tracking down a small circus that has two lions and might be in the jungle somewhere,” Phillips says. And once they did find them, they’d often face hostile opposition from circus workers. Some would bang on cages to rile up the animals, making raids chaotic. In another confrontation, a family who owned a traveling circus barricaded a puma in a truck bed behind equipment and tools, refusing to comply. They argued that turning over the animal would destroy their livelihood.

To obtain Smith, Creamer entered the circus—a traveling affair, at the time it was located in Cuzco—with police officers, and a face-off ensued for several hours. According to Phillips, the circus handlers threatened to release the wild animals into the streets if rescuers didn’t back down. After more negotiating, rescuers left with three lions, leaving two cubs, Smith and a spider monkey named Pepe behind. A few days later—after Smith attacked the spectator—accompanied by police in

riot gear, rescuers seized the animals. Then it was a 35-hour drive back to Lima. “We go through hell on earth to get these animals,” Phillips says.

In the end, about 90 animals—including lions, monkeys, kinkajous, a tiger and a tortoise—were recovered from Peru and Colombia, and placed in the Lima holding facility until they could be relocated to permanent homes. Colorado resident Brenda Lee volunteered at the facility for two weeks, helping with feeding, cleaning and vaccinating the lions and monkeys. “You could tell which ones had been really traumatized,” she says; they were easily spooked.


A big chunk of change next went to the construction of habitats and the relocation of 39 monkeys and other animals to sites near Iquitos, Peru—the biggest city in the world inaccessible by road—an effort that required numerous trips through the unrelenting heat and torrential rain of the Amazon rainforest, which Phillips describes as working in an “absolute quagmire.” In April 2015, a large group of animals flew 600 miles on a Peru-

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## CIRCUS HANDLERS THREATENED TO RELEASE WILD ANIMALS INTO THE STREETS IF RESCUERS DIDN’T BACK DOWN.

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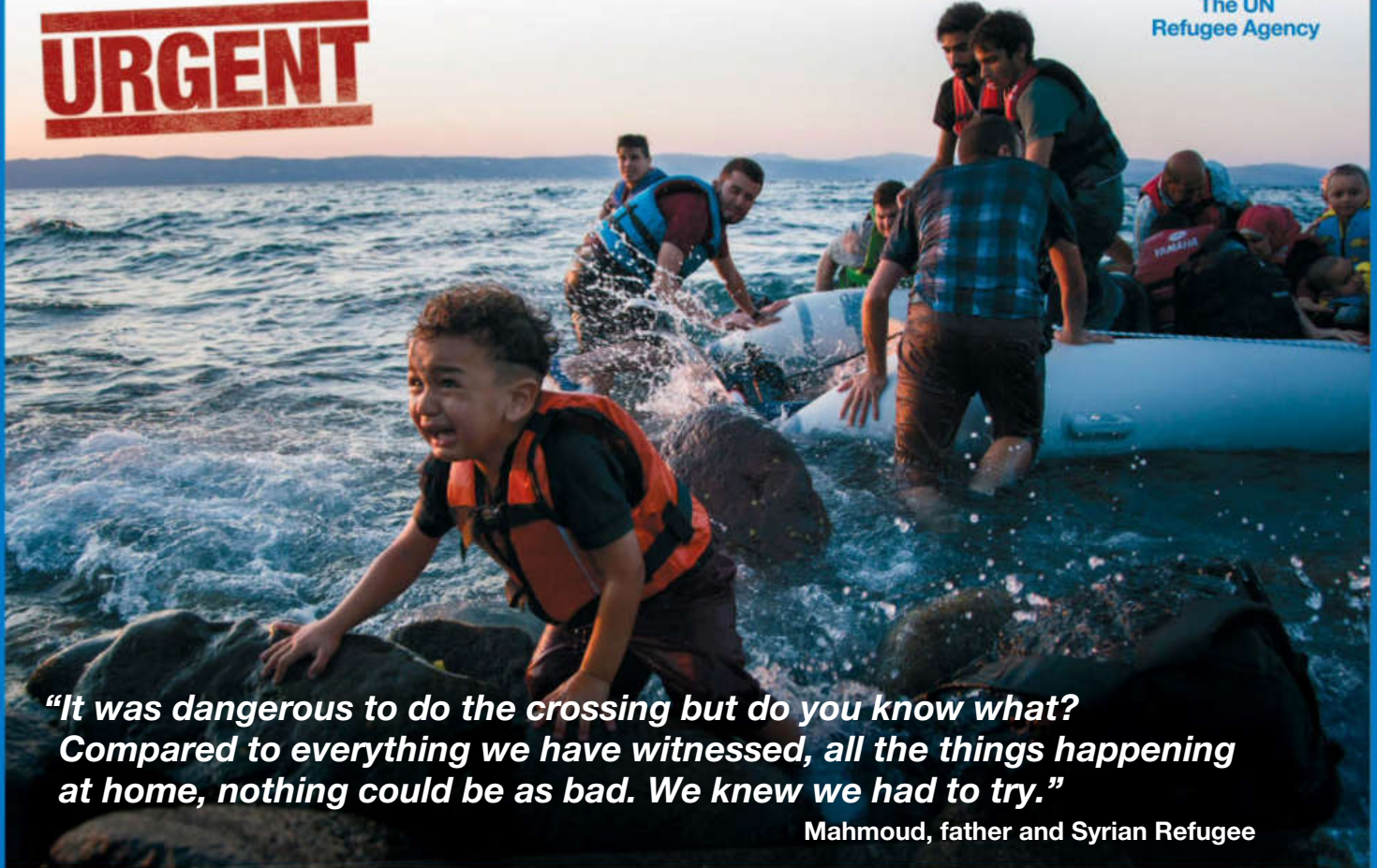
vian Air Force aircraft and then traveled by road to a naval base to board boats headed upriver to their final destination—semi-captive, ADI-constructed jungle habitats, far away from people.

In late October, Smith and the 32 other lions will travel on a chartered Boeing 747 from the holding facility in Lima to Johannesburg, and onto the Emoya Big Cat Sanctuary, a 12,000-acre facility where the goal is to reintroduce Smith to his former mate, Amazonas. This will be the biggest airlift of its kind, according to organizers. The sanctuary is on a private estate in Limpopo, the northernmost province in the country, and is closed to the public. It also has a no-breeding policy. Still to come: constructing large, natural habitats and enclosures for these lions—another major expense. Phillips says all the challenges in rescuing and placing these animals have been worth it: “When you see Smith being so playful, you think if you had just taken the easy option, he would have just lived and died in that circus cage.” 

# REFUGEE CRISIS IN EUROPE

FAMILIES FORCED TO FLEE THEIR HOMES

## URGENT



***"It was dangerous to do the crossing but do you know what? Compared to everything we have witnessed, all the things happening at home, nothing could be as bad. We knew we had to try."***

**Mahmoud, father and Syrian Refugee**

Over 400,000 people have crossed the Mediterranean during 2015, undertaking unthinkable journeys from countries like Syria, that have been torn apart by war and persecution.

These families are fleeing for their lives, risking the treacherous sea and land crossings. Many having no choice but to board over-crowded, flimsy boats to give their children a chance of safety. For some, this desperate journey will be their last. Almost 3,000 people have drowned trying to reach safety in Europe. The crossing is dangerous but for many families making this journey is the only choice they feel they have.

**UNHCR is on the ground providing life-saving assistance but we need your help.**

You can help provide shelter, food, water and medical care to vulnerable families arriving in Europe.

With so many in need and as more continue to make this journey, your donation today is vital and will help UNHCR to save lives and protect families who have been forced to flee their homes.

**\$120 can provide emergency rescue kits containing a thermal blanket, towel, water, high nutrient energy bar, dry clothes and shoes, to 4 survivors.**



## PLEASE GIVE WHAT YOU CAN TODAY. VISIT [DONATE.UNHCR.ORG](https://donate.unhcr.org)



**+**  
**THE GOOD FIGHT:**  
Frank Zappa, right,  
speaks against  
placing parental  
advisory labels  
on music at a Sep-  
tember 19, 1985,  
Senate hearing.



## DOWNTIME

TRAVEL

CULTURE WARS

BOOKS

MUSEUMS

TELEVISION

SPORTS

### TWISTED SISTERS

An oral history of the Parents Music Resource Center's war on dirty lyrics, and the Senate hearing that changed music for three decades (and counting)

**THIRTY YEARS AGO**, the music industry changed forever because of the Parents Music Resource Center's fight to identify and label explicit lyrics. From this political fervor emerged the "Parental Advisory" stickers that probably dot your CD collection today. In this oral history, Susan Baker, Dee Snider, Gail Zappa, Sis Levin and others tell\* the inside story of how it happened—and reflect on the 30 years since.

**SUSAN BAKER, CO-FOUNDER OF THE PMRC:** It started because one day my 7-year-old came in and started quoting some of Madonna's lyrics to me, wanting to know what they meant. And I was shocked. It was "Like a Virgin." She said, "Mama, what's a virgin?" And I said, "What do you mean?" She said, "Well, Madonna sings this song: 'Like a virgin / Touched for the very first time.' What's a virgin?" I was speechless. Here she was still playing with dolls at 7.

**SIS LEVIN, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE PMRC:** I took a desk and we had meetings and we talked about having opportunities to speak to the public. We would say, "Just listen to what they're listening to! And get a handle on it!" Because it does have an effect.

**KANDIE STROUD, JOURNALIST WHO DEBATED FRANK ZAPPA ON TV:** I remember one time, one of my kids said, "Listen to this song, but don't listen to the lyrics, Mom, you won't like them." Sure enough, it was some explicit song. I think it was something by Prince. I kind of looked into the topic and interviewed a bunch of different people in the music world. I thought, Wow, it's really changed since the days of the Beatles and Elvis.

**BAKER:** We decided we would get together and get everybody on our address list and have a meeting and show them what we were upset about. Most of them didn't have a clue what

BY  
**ZACH SCHONFELD**  
@zzzzaaaacccchh



was going on. That's how it started.

In 1985, the PMRC issued a list of 15 songs—nicknamed the “Filthy Fifteen”—that it deemed particularly objectionable and deserving of being banned from radio airplay. The Filthy Fifteen included songs by household-name pop stars like Madonna, Cyndi Lauper and Prince, as well as lesser-known metal groups like W.A.S.P.

**CERPHE COLWELL, LONGTIME RADIO PERSONALITY WHO TESTIFIED AT THE SEPTEMBER 19, 1985, PMRC HEARING:** Ironically, most of the heavy metal songs that they listed at the time were virtually unknown to the public. Heavy metal as a music format hadn't really blossomed. I truly believe to this day that one of the reasons that metal took off so much in the 1980s as a successful format is that the PMRC brought attention to what they thought was unacceptable.

**BAKER:** We went all over the country talking to PTA groups and parent groups. And we'd say, “Look, this kind of inappropriate stuff is going to be out there in the culture. So you have to teach your kids to think critically about it.”

**DEE SNIDER, FRONTMAN FOR THE FILTHY FIFTEEN-TARGETED GROUP TWISTED SISTER:** You talk about the music that was on the Filthy Fifteen; it's easy listening by today's standards.

**JOANNE MCDUFFIE, SINGER FOR THE FILTHY FIFTEEN-TARGETED MARY JANE GIRLS:** When they picked that song [“In My House”], I remember being really, really irritated, because there was nothing in the song that would suggest anything inappropriate. Was the song about sex? Of course it was. But lyrically, it was very tastefully done.

**BLACKIE LAWLESS, SINGER FOR THE FILTHY FIFTEEN-TARGETED W.A.S.P.:** It's true, they made us a household word. But they made us a household word for people's grandmothers in the Midwest, because the kids already knew who we were. The kids already had the records. Yeah, they make you a household word to somebody's grandma, but grandmas don't buy records. I think a lot of artists thought, OK, this exposure's gonna help us sell more records. But I don't think, in reality, it did.

**MCDUFFIE:** I think it was a blacklist. Or a modern-day witch hunt.

On September 19, 1985, the PMRC's efforts

culminated in a much-publicized Senate hearing during which Tipper Gore, wife of then-Senator from Tennessee Al Gore, advocated “a warning label on music products inappropriate for younger children due to explicit sexual or violent lyrics.” Alongside members of the PMRC, the Senate Committee on Commerce, Science and Transportation heard testimony from musicians Frank Zappa, Snider and John Denver.

**SNIDER:** I just remember getting a call from my management office asking, “Would you testify at these hearings?” And I was like, “Hell, yeah.” I assumed this would be, like, young people would rise up! And I was being asked to carry the flag. Didn't give it a second thought. “Yes, I will carry the flag into battle. Follow me!” As I stood out there by myself on the field of honor, I realized that nobody was following.

**BAKER:** Tipper and I were the ones who testified. It gave us more exposure, which we were hoping for. It was kind of a circus.... We were

## “THE TOPIC ON *CROSSFIRE* THAT NIGHT WAS [DON'T LAUGH] ‘DOES ROCK MUSIC CAUSE AIDS?’”

called awful things [by the opposition]. They called us bored housewives and a bunch of crazy alcoholics. It was not a pleasant thing. But we said, “Well, so what? We think this is right.” We just soldiered on.

**GAIL ZAPPA, FRANK ZAPPA'S WIDOW:** They were saying that they were going to have a hearing. And that pissed Frank off because it was a waste of resources and expenses to get involved in censorship of people's artwork, apart from everything else. He was pissed.

**LARRY STEIN, ATTORNEY FOR FRANK ZAPPA:** [Zappa] was asked to [testify], and he definitely wanted to because he felt very strongly about the issue. And my 15 minutes of fame is that when that MTV clip plays, he walks into the Senate and says, “Hi, my name is Frank Zappa, and this is my lawyer, Larry Stein.”

**SNIDER:** I remember Frank and I standing back.... We were both not sure where John [Denver] would be in this. We knew where he should be, as an artist—he should be on our side. But, again, he had crossed over, and he was literally that day coming back from NASA, where they



MARK WEISS/GETTY

**NOT GONNA TAKE IT:** Dee Snider of the band Twisted Sister speaks to the press after testifying at the Parents Music Resource Center Senate hearing in Washington, D.C.



were talking about him being the first musician in space.... So when he came out and spoke—and he spoke honestly about the way “Rocky Mountain High” had been protested and how the movie *Oh, God!* had been protested and he stood against censorship of any kind—we were cheering in the back.

**BAKER:** Some of [Zappa’s testimony] was ludicrous. But John Denver was there too. We understand how people feel. It’s free speech! But we say, Yes, speech is free, but when you buy a product in the store, it has a label on it that tells you what the ingredients are.

**DWEEZIL ZAPPA, SON OF FRANK ZAPPA:** [My father] had one quote that was hilarious, where he said to the senators something to the effect of “You are treating this problem like treating dandruff by decapitation.”

**COLWELL:** Just as Frank had predicted, many stores, including Wal-Mart, stopped carrying the dreaded, demonized records carrying labels.

**FRANK ZAPPA (IN THE REAL FRANK ZAPPA BOOK):** A CNN show called *Crossfire* covered the PMRC topic twice with me as a guest, the first time in 1986 (when I told that guy from *The Washington Times* to kiss my ass), and then again in 1987, when George Michael’s sex song was “controversial.” Believe it or not, ladies and gentlemen, the premise of that second debate on *Crossfire* was (don’t laugh) “Does Rock Music Cause AIDS?”

*PMRC members interviewed for this article say they’re proud of the work they accomplished; Baker says it still gives her a smile when she sees a Parental Advisory sticker and knows she helped make that happen. But several artists targeted by the organization describe career downturns, label woes and—in some instances—death threats in the aftermath of the hearings.*

**TIPPER GORE, CO-FOUNDER OF THE PMRC:** In this era of social media and online access, it seems quaint to think that parents can have control over what their children see and hear. But I think this conversation between parents and kids is as relevant today as it was back in the ’80s. Music is a universal language that crosses generations, race, religion, sex and more. Never has there been more need for communication and understanding on these issues as there is today. All of

the artists and record companies who still use the advisory label should be applauded for helping parents and kids have these conversations about lyrics around their own values.

**LEVIN:** All I can say is, it was a group of courageous women who were willing to step out there and say, “This is bad, this is hurting our children, this is having an effect on not only the homes and the schools but the whole community. We need to take a serious look at this.” That was pretty gutsy of them.

**MCDUFFIE:** It kind of blacklisted me from certain areas of the business.... We didn’t get the Grammys. We didn’t get the American Music Awards because of [the PMRC]. I think that kind of stopped us before we got started.

**LAWLESS:** I used to tell people that I felt like a brick wall, that nobody could knock me down.

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“I TRULY BELIEVE  
THAT METAL TOOK  
OFF AS A GENRE IN THE  
1980S BECAUSE THE  
PMRC THOUGHT IT  
WAS UNACCEPTABLE.”

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But it’s very subtle the way it happens. A death threat here, somebody tampering with one of your vehicles there.

**MCDUFFIE:** Our song had the potential and was on its way to being No. 1. When they put that sticker on it, I think it maybe stopped at No. 5. It definitely stopped us from going to No. 1.... I remember having an endorsement at the time from Ford Motors. But after this labeling thing, it disappeared.

**SNIDER:** Long term, it was the first time people started to see me as having more to say than just a couple of catchy tunes. That I had a brain. A day doesn’t go by that somebody doesn’t walk up to me and say, “Thank you! For doing what you did.”

**BAKER:** When we’re traveling, sometimes somebody will come up to me when they find out who I am, and they say, “We really thank you for doing that. Thank you for making us more aware.” 

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\*All of the material contained in this oral history comes from phone interviews with *Newsweek*, with the exception of Tipper Gore, who declined to be interviewed but did supply a statement, and quotes attributed to the late Frank Zappa, which are from his autobiography, *The Real Frank Zappa Book*.

## GETTING UP TO BUSINESS

Your private jet's in the shop? Try the high-end trans-Atlantic services that survived the financial crisis

**BRITISH AIRWAYS (BA)** last month celebrated the sixth anniversary of its business class-only service between London and New York. That may appear to be a rather underwhelming landmark, but the success of the twice-daily luxury service is reward for some bold strategic thinking by BA during a time when the global financial crisis was battering the travel industry.

BA launched the service, which boasts the old Concorde flight numbers BA 001, 002, 003 and 004, from London City Airport in 2009, by which time three other significant business class-only airlines operating between London and New York had gone out of business. The world's stock markets, banks and financial institutions were in a parlous state. The last thing most travelers were thinking about at the time was spending big to fly in luxury. BA's then-CEO Willie Walsh, however, was convinced there was a market for high-end commercial flights between London and New York, as both the U.S. and Europe were just starting to show the first signs of an economic recovery. It proved to be a rather smart gamble.

The launch in May of La Compagnie, a



Paris-based company that offers business class-only flights to Newark Liberty International Airport in New Jersey from Paris Orly Airport and Luton Airport, which is just outside London, suggests that the market for these high-end flights is growing. La Compagnie is offering return flights this winter for between 935 pounds and 1,405 pounds for a conditional, restricted ticket and 2,900 pounds for a fully flexible ticket, compared with around 2,770 pounds for the unrestricted BA London City service. To some extent, you get what you pay for with both companies. La Compagnie flies Boeing 757s with 72 seats while BA's city service uses Airbus A318s with 32 seats per flight, so there is a real sense of private jet travel with BA.

The BA flight stops for an hour at Shannon Airport in Ireland, where passengers clear U.S. immigration, thus landing at New York's John F.

Kennedy International Airport with the ease enjoyed by domestic passengers. Anyone who has stood in those long lines in New York will recognize the advantages of this arrangement even though the total flight time is an hour longer than the conventional Heathrow-to-New-York journey.

How good is the BA business class-only service? Courtesy of BA, I flew on BA 001 and 002 this August. Although London City Airport is a far more crowded airport than it was five years ago, passengers on these flights are rescued from the mayhem by the serenity of the BA lounge. Once you've passed through those doors, you're aware that you're crossing the Atlantic in something akin to private aviation. On this flight, there were just 24 passengers—summer is low season for business travel—and when the flight was called 15 minutes before takeoff there

was an amiable saunter to the gate rather than the usual tense rush.

The cabin crew served Taittinger Champagne and hors d'oeuvres on the short hop to Ireland, where we cleared American customs in short order and left for the U.S. exactly an hour after landing. The lie-flat sleeper seats are arranged side by side in eight rows, unlike BA's conventional Club class arrangements (face to face), and there is more space and privacy than you find on conventional flights, except perhaps in first class. Passengers enjoyed a leisurely lunch with good wine choices—and then relaxed for the next seven hours.

For mere mortals with little chance of ever taking a private jet, this was pretty much as good as trans-Atlantic travel gets. It may even be commercially strong enough to survive whatever financial turbulence lies ahead for the travel industry. **N**



## REALLY SELLING HIS SOUL

Gregory Porter is a strange jazz singer, but he's a strange jazz singer sought after by both Wynton Marsalis and Disclosure

**GREGORY PORTER** croons with the jazz gusto of a bygone era, but all potential collaborators take note: He is very much alive. “Howard [Lawrence], one of the brothers of Disclosure, heard my voice on the jazz radio station in the U.K., but he thought it was a very old song,” recalls Porter, 43, with a laugh, calling *Newsweek* from his hometown of Bakersfield, California. “He thought it was maybe something he could potentially sample.”

A bit of sleuthing led Lawrence to Porter, a Brooklyn resident for the past decade, and the producer invited him to co-write a song. The result was a pensive yet joyous jazz-soul ballad, one that hewed close to Porter’s Grammy-winning solo catalog. But the efforts didn’t end there; Lawrence and brother Guy, who comprise the über-trendy British dance duo Disclosure, rewound the song into a sprightly club track, “Holding On,” that reached No. 1 on the U.S. dance charts as the lead single of their second album, September’s *Caracal*.

The track is Porter’s boldest step yet in his unlikely evolution from jazz traditionalist to club-kid muse. (It’s also enticing other marquee names; both pop-soul savant Sam Smith and ionic rap group De La Soul recently approached him to collaborate on new material.) Porter cuts a strange figure for a jazzman; his resonant, soulful baritone and youthful presence have been embraced by electro-pop DJs, who have poured hundreds of remixes of his tracks onto YouTube

and SoundCloud in the past five years. At the same time, he’s still embraced by traditional bop audiences, even collecting a Grammy for best jazz vocal album for 2013’s *Liquid Spirit*.

While the sampling of jazz artists is a tradition in dance circles—artists from Massive Attack to DJ Shadow and Flying Lotus—cross-genre, honest-to-god duets aren’t forged quite as often. Porter acknowledges that not many contemporary jazz artists have been as embraced by the electro set. “I don’t think it happens often, and it’s been an honor. It surprised me a bit. The idea to cross genres, to cross age and race, is a difficult thing to do musically,” he says. “But I think you can be as soulful and evocative as you want to be in dance music. What matters is that the message you’re singing doesn’t change. I don’t mind that backbeat, not at all.”

As the son of a minister, Porter grew up singing gospel in her church. The largely rural community of Bakersfield provided a complicated backdrop. “On one hand, we would walk down the alley and fruit was dropping from the trees, and I had a lot of friends. But at the same time, there were really strange and violent racial experiences,” he says. “My brother, walking home from work late at night, was shot in the back by a couple of racists. They tried to cut down [our] treehouse that was in the front yard. It was difficult and strange, but at the same time, as a kid, you’re just resilient.”

BY  
**STACEY ANDERSON**  
[@staceykanderson](https://twitter.com/staceykanderson)

He found a release in athletics, entering San Diego State University on a football scholarship. However, a few months into his freshman year, he dislocated a shoulder and tore his rotator cuff, injuries that would pull him from the field permanently. “When you’re an athlete, it’s your identity in a way—a stamp on your forehead,” he says. “And suddenly, I needed a new identity.” He tapped into his early musical inclinations by joining jam sessions around the city. These eventually led to a role in the musical *It Ain’t Nothin’ but the Blues* at the San Diego Repertory Theatre, which then traveled nationally and even enjoyed a stint on Broadway.

Emboldened, Porter wrote his own musical in 2004, *Nat King Cole & Me*, a tribute to the favorite artist of his childhood. “His music kind of washed over me like it was fatherly advice; my father didn’t raise me. I listened to the music in this wide-open, emotional way,” Porter says. He then moved to New York and became a fixture in the jazz community of Harlem. Motema Records called in 2008, and he cut two albums with the label, 2010’s *Water* and 2012’s

*Be Good* (neither of which charted in the U.S.), before signing with Blue Note Records. His debut release for Blue Note, *Liquid Spirit*, not only won the Grammy but cracked the Top 10 of the U.K. album charts, a rare feat for a jazz release, even one by “a jazz singer of thrilling presence,” as *The New York Times* praised him. That year, he also scored his highest-profile New York booking to date: a role in the limited-run reprise of *Blood on the Fields*, Wynton Marsalis’s Pulitzer Prize-winning 1997 jazz oratorio about a Southern slave couple’s journey to freedom.

Marsalis tells *Newsweek* that Porter was a natural for the lead part of Juba, a sage of preternatural intensity. “He has a depth of soul and feeling in his voice, and command of a kind of a baritone sound that is very rare,” says Marsalis, 53. “His voice is rich, and it communicates a soul that is uncommon.”

As he writes his fourth jazz-soul album, Porter is gravitating toward topical themes. “I’m going to harvest my experiences and my feelings about what’s going on in the country, the unrest and some of the violence that’s happened,” he says. “I’m thinking of themes of mutual respect in all ways, not just the police: young person to young person, young person to old person, neighbor to neighbor. Everybody

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“NAT KING COLE’S MUSIC KIND OF WASHED OVER ME LIKE IT WAS FATHERLY ADVICE; MY FATHER DIDN’T RAISE ME.”

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has to be considerate and thoughtful about life.” It’s a fitting thought for an artist who, somehow, bridged the immeasurable taste gap between millennial ravers and highfalutin jazz icons using only his voice. ■

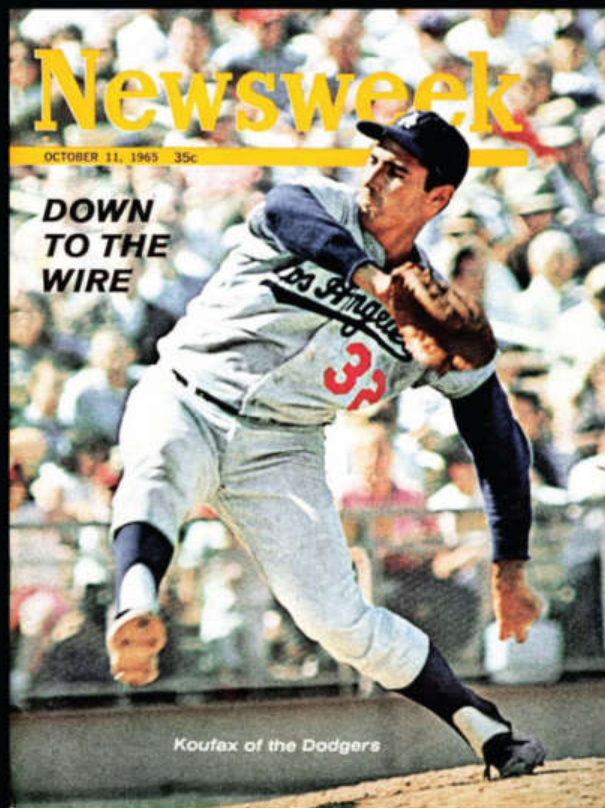
**OLD AND NEW SCHOOL:** Though Porter’s style recalls icons from jazz’s deep history, his collaboration with dance duo Disclosure is an evolution for the artist—and the limits of modern jazz.

+



# REWIND

50  
YEARS



OCTOBER 11, 1965

DR. RICHARD H. MOY, DIRECTOR OF THE STUDENT HEALTH SERVICE AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO, AS QUOTED IN A STORY HEADLINED "THE PILL ON CAMPUS"

**"It is** strictly a medical decision," and a coed can get birth control devices

if the service thinks the circumstances "appropriate." Unmarried girls, however, are usually requested to consult the university's psychiatric services if they ask for the pill.



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